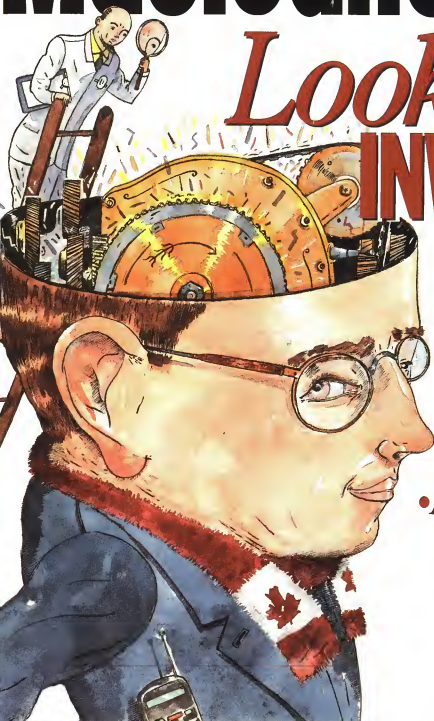


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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
JANUARY 3, 1995 VOLUME 18 NO 1

CONTENTS

2 EDITORIAL

4 LETTERS

8 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

Help for homeless Saskatchewan natives, learn their names, and other ways to motivate staff. Alberta's tropical-drinker program, the new language of retailing, a McGovern family tragedy.

10 COVER

34 CANADA

Despite a threat of U.S. retaliation, Ottawa introduces laws to protect Canadian magazines and publishers.

38 BACKSTAGE OTTAWA: ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

Le chef Ottawa speculates about an expected cabinet shuffle.

40 WORLD

The similarities between President Bill Clinton and his new Republican rival, House Majority Leader Newt Gingrich—troubled boyhood, left political roads, 1967 Ford Mustangs—contribute to the findings of an interesting congressional session.

42 PEOPLE

Susan Clark plays a mysterious Canadian enforcer: Will Miller's life outside the Irish Rover, writer Kaye Muske defends historical romance, actress Jessica Steen and the Earth 2 project.

44 BUSINESS

49 THE NATION'S BUSINESS: PETER C. NEWHAM

"He had a recent vasectomy and they took out a bit of his brain by mistake"—and other offbeat quotes and quips.

50 FILMS

Two new movies present women on the edge: Jodie Foster's wild child in *Jack*, and Jennifer Jason Leigh's city urban savage in *Mr. Parker and the Lot*.

52 FOOTBALLINGHAM

Editorial: Canadian magazine and website of the week. *Maclean's* is a weekly news magazine. It is published by Maclean's Inc. 1000 King Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5X 1C5. Phone: (416) 593-1234. Fax: (416) 593-1235.



Looking inward

10 Ten years ago this week, the first *Maclean's* annual report on the nation's mood revealed a country brimming with confidence and optimism. This year's *Maclean's/civ* survey paints a dramatically different picture: almost everything, including our sex lives, seems to have taken a turn for the worse. And yet most respondents remain proud of their country and satisfied, if not necessarily delighted, with their own economic lot.



Cable booster

44 With the exec's first approval of Rogers Communications Inc.'s takeover bid for Maclean-Hunter Ltd., Ted Rogers last week became the undisputed leader of the pack in Canadian cable and publishing. After a brief pause to savor that victory, however, Rogers began gearing up for 1995—and a growing challenge to his core cable business from the Septoria alliance of telephone companies.

No middle ground

34 A parliamentary committee holding hearings on Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy's ambitious plans to overhaul Canada's social safety net completes an often fractious 28-city odyssey. Opponents of the reforms are already gearing up for the next phase, vowing to hold even more rallies and protests.



LETTERS

Testing the church

To reading your cover articles on "Sex and the Vatican" (Dec. 28), I find that Catholics and the Pope are denying the evidence that has shaped the world. People should not be misled by religious doctrines based on fear of sex. Instead, efforts should be made to stress the importance of adopting individual moral behavior based on universal secular values. The state has no business in the private home; why should the Pope?

Charles Bourton,
Montreal

As a feminist and former Catholic, I could not have been more disgusted with the attitudes conveyed by Toronto's priest: Michael McGroarty and Newfoundland publisher Madeline Brewer concerning the sexual abuse of young children by members of the priesthood. Both refer to the scandals as a recognition of the humanity of the priest. Certainly, but the priests engaged in sex with underage adults, I could recognize such expressions of their humanity, but the sexual abuse of children reveals nothing but the gross inhumanity of these individuals.

Nancy Ford,
Windsor, Ont.

According to the polls cited in your article, large numbers of Catholics disagree with the teaching of their church on contraception, premarital sex and other matters of sexual morality. Allow me to put this into perspective. On the one hand, if a polling firm would have advised him to change this message, or risk being seen as out of touch with reality, that, as a priest once said, "The face we peddle has never been a popular one." It wasn't then, it isn't now.

Michael J. Collins,
Ottawa

Academic tradition

I doubt that University of Calgary president Anthony Fraser was trying to cover up scandal on his campus when he agreed to Prof. Peter Fry's referendum ("Violence on trial," Education, Dec. 19). Given that all universities in Alberta have had their funding cut by 35 per cent or more, I believe the president when he says that \$250,000 would have been too much to pay for a questionnaire. That money would pay professors a year. In the "New Alberta," so our educational, health and social service systems are



A Catholic church in Toronto, disagreement on matters of sexual morality

guilt and sold to the private sector, it is becoming necessary to sacrifice the process in order to survive. Other Catholics can learn from us.

Collette Day,
Edmonton, AB

I read "Assaulted on trial" with cynical amusement. I spent 24 years in university as student and teacher and regret to report that your article typifies an association with certainties of tradition, longwinded on precept, and short on example.

Francis M. Macri,
Toronto

Picture of sadness

A picture is worth a thousand words. Regarding your Dec. 12 story on the war in the former Yugoslavia ("Diplomacy on trial," World), here are a few words that popped into my mind when I saw the photo of the dead boy in Sarajevo: brutality, horror, helplessness, senselessness, disgust. Looking at that photo and then into the eyes of my seven-month-old baby filled my heart with sadness.

Randy Colwell,
Windsor, Ont.

Power struggle

I am appalled at the powerlessness of individuals like Norma Jacobs and Mary Lavigne against the unions ("New women's battle with the C.U.C.," Dear Friends, Dec. 10). Is Canada a democracy, or is it a totalitarian state with the Canadian Labour Congress and unions

acting as tyrants over the very ones they claim to protect? Unions have become too powerful, too clatching, too poisonous and too arrogant. So I say "Workers of Canada unite and reveal the union bosses."

Howard Rithson,
Chatham, Ont.

I am absolutely appalled with Prime Minister's attempt to belittle readers into thinking that Norma Jacobs is freedom of association is being trampled by big labor. The criminal issue is individual versus collective rights. If you accept the benefits of a collective agreement, you have to pay the price of its administration—the union dues that obtained those benefits for you. Thus, union dues are not some form of "mandatory taxation," but the price every worker pays for the benefits received under a collective agreement.

Philippe Trudier,
Public Service Alliance of Canada,
Regional Representative,
Windsor

Titleholders

In "Cafing a tracer" (Canada News, Dec. 13), you state that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and "French President Edouard Balladur" exchanged signed treaties in Paris. There is one slight error: for the time being, Edouard Balladur is prime minister only.

Charles Madelon,
Southport, Ont.

Black and white photos are used to illustrate the story and clearly show the quality of the car. The car is shown in a variety of settings and is shown in a variety of colors. The car is shown in a variety of settings and is shown in a variety of colors. The car is shown in a variety of settings and is shown in a variety of colors.

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. 1965 9

OPENING NOTES



Fargnher: 'Agricultural outlooks, grassroots plogues and the daughters'

THE PULL OF THE PRAIRIES

Despite a job on Parliament Hill, Brad Fargnher is not consumed by political intrigue and the widdings of government. To the contrary. The 35-year-old special assistant to Reform Union Leader Elwyn Kosman has since found time to pursue a yearning for his home in Regina by setting up an Internet newsletter for fellow Saskatchewan expatriates called *SaskWatch*. It began in November, 1993, when Fargnher sent out a simple message to the Internet: "People of Saskatchewan, wake!" Now, with 150 subscribers from as far away as England, Australia and New Zealand, Fargnher keeps up on news to those prairie for their prairie home. Ironically, Fargnher grew up in

Ontario, but says he fell in love with Saskatchewan's sense of community during his year he spent as an area marketing business in the province. "Everyone who has left has a secret yearning to return some day," he explains. And what can the prairie learn from *SaskWatch*? "Agricultural outlooks, grassroots plogues and, of course, all about the Saskatchewan Roughriders." Indeed, author Fargnher's marriage prompted more than 200 Saskatchewan fans living in the Grange area to go together in Laramie, Wyo., to watch a Roughriders versus Rough Riders football game in October. Says Fargnher, with pride: "Saskatchewan's dearest Ottawa." These Prairie roots grow deep

ALCOHOL'S SAD TOLL

For years, former U.S. presidential candidate George McGovern had a special empathy for Terry (Terry) McGovern, the middle child of his four daughters and a son. At the end of each of their talks, he would ask her: "Who's ahead today, you or the disease?" The disease he was referring to was alcohol, which Terry McGovern struggled with from the time she was a teenager. Last month, she checked into a detoxification centre in Madison, Wis., the midwestern city where some of her family lived, including her two young daughters and their father. And in mid-month, McGovern, 63, was found dead in a snowdrift. According to the coroner, the cause of death was "hypothermia while in an



acute state of alcohol intoxication." Her blood-alcohol level was 0.309 per cent. Under Wisconsin law, a blood-alcohol content of 0.10 per cent is considered evidence of intoxication. In many other jurisdictions, including most Canadian provinces, 0.08 per cent is the legal threshold.

Members of the McGovern family were exceptionally open and eloquent in their many public statements about their prodigal daughter. George McGovern, a Democratic senator from South Dakota from 1963 to 1968, said that his daughter was "amazingly innocent and naive" but that he believed she was never powerless to control her alcoholism. "It isn't that she didn't try to overcome it," he added. "It was not one of the few lucky ones who can control it, you die." Ann McGovern described her sister as a lively and loving person, adding, "There was a Terry that we remembered and the Terry that kept getting sicker and sicker." Another under, Susan McGovern Brown, said that Terry had "poor poor the point where she could stop." The disease won.

TALKING SHOPPING

Accord Christmas shoppers are asked, finding the right gift can be a headache. But according to Thomas J. Blais, a consulting expert, help may be on the way. Blais, who is also vice-president of worldwide marketing for AT&T Global Information Solutions of El Segundo, Calif., addressed the Retail Trends and Technology Conference in Toronto last night. And he said that retail salespeople are going to have to become specialists, with in-depth knowledge of the products they are selling. But to understand Blais's message, it seems retailers will also have to learn a new language. Some examples—watch retailers.

- Informationizing: learning everything about customers
- Customizing: the customer is king
- Personalizing: giving information about shoppers to data banks



Mixing music selections: customer's centre

- Shopping-as-entertainment: evaluating product presentations
- Customer intimacy: understanding the buyer
- Scientific shopping: using virtual reality computers to select products
- Muscular customer technology: shopping with the use of computers and TV

BOTTOMS UP

Reward cards and other loyalty programs, in which customers earn points towards gifts or discounts on future purchases, have become popular incentives offered by retailers who sell everything from food to furniture. And now, thanks to the spirit of free enterprise in Alberta, even liquor stores are getting in on the act. Last week, 17 stores in Calgary began issuing plastic cards as part of a program called Party Points. Each time a customer makes a purchase at a participating store, the card issues points for each register. Each dollar people spend earns five points and with every 1,000 points earned, they receive a \$5 reward—usable for store booze. John



Drugs: rewards for frequent drinkers

Party Points have joined about a year after the Alberta government promoted the province's liquor stores. For example, however, releases the program. "Since prohibition, we have seen...as products...store releases to liquor stores," says Calgary police Sgt. Gerry Bess. "Now, we have a marketing ploy designed to lure people in, to buy more booze."

Despite such concerns, liquor stores in Edmonton will begin offering their own Party Points cards later this month. In Alberta, "request your program" will take on a whole new meaning.

KEEPING THE ASSETS HAPPY

Employees, the human part, are a company's most valuable resource. But how does a boss keep workers motivated and productive? In the recently published *Managing with a Heart*, 306-page *Wash. Post* author Ernest P. Applegate, a business consultant in Seattle, suggests a number of ways that managers can take to win the best from their employees. A sample of her suggestions, which, she notes in the introduction, may "require personal courage."

Come around and say "good morning" every day
Learn their names.
Put out a suggestion box and actually read the contents.

Show flowers "just because it is spring."
Show an interest in their personal lives. Ask

about their kids, spouses, parents, pets
Let them write their own job descriptions—and not until they are really done.
Give a slogan that they expect or are due to be a "thank-you" and incentive for a job well done (in some industries or circumstances, even a hug can be appropriate).

PASSAGES

RETIRED: When Leszek, 34, is making money money in the history of professional tennis, because of chronic back problems, at a news conference near his Greenwich, Conn., home. Leszek, who was 520 million dollars in 17 years profits, social money, held the No. 3 ranking for a record 270 weeks, 157 of them in a row. But his career has fallen on hard times recently, and he is currently ranked 54th, the lowest since 1978. The winner of 94 titles, including eight Grand Slams, Leszek failed to win a single tournament in 1994 as he struggled with degenerative spine conditions aggravated by playing in hard courts.



DEED: Former U.S. secretary of state Dean Rusk, 82, a key architect of the Vietnam War, under president John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, at his home in Athens, Ga. As the mayor U.S. foreign policy adviser from 1961 to 1969, Rusk served during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and the signing of the first arms control accords with the Soviet Union.

VOTED: Myriam Beland, 35, Canada's Canadian Press female editor of 1994, by 40 north editors and broadcasters. Beland won a double gold medal winner at the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer.

SUITED: A popular former singer Beach Boys co-founder Brian Wilson, 52, by his cousin, singer Mike Wilson, 53, for \$2 million, as a Los Angeles independent court. Another song: Love's a double gold medal winner. California Girls and I Got Around.

MARRIED: Model/Cherise Brinkley, 40, and real estate developer Richard Taubman, 46, who survived a helicopter crash together last spring at the Hollywood Hills resort in Calabasas. Brinkley and former 88th Joel divorced in August.

DEED: Property developer Edward DeBelle Sr., 82, who built some of the first suburban shopping malls in the 1940s and 1950s, and who lived in the San Francisco area and the Pittsburgh Penguins, at his home in Vancouver, B.C.

DEED: Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, 45, whose kickback scandal led to the resignation of his brother, Fernando, as president of Brazil in 1992, was charged in a New York City hospital. The respondent was acquitted of influence-peddling charges earlier this month.

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION	NONFICTION
1. <i>Patriotic Games</i> by Stephen King, John F. Lemmon (1)	1. <i>On the Edge</i> , Tom Clancy (2)
2. <i>The Godfather</i> by Mario Puzo (3)	2. <i>Long Walk to Nowhere</i> , Peter Abela (1)
3. <i>Open House</i> , Lisa Moore (4)	3. <i>Karen: A Memoir</i> by Karen, Karen (1)
4. <i>Guided by the Light</i> , John (5)	4. <i>Crucial Decisions</i> by Thomas (6)
5. <i>The Gilded Man</i> , John (6)	5. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (7)
6. <i>A Discovery of Witches</i> , John (7)	6. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (8)
7. <i>A Tale of the City</i> , John (8)	7. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (9)
8. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (9)	8. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (10)
9. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (10)	9. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (11)
10. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (11)	10. <i>John's Journey</i> by John (12)



Toronto shoppers: most Canadians say their financial situation is as good as or better than a decade ago



How has your personal financial situation changed over the past 10 years?

Worsened	31%
Stayed about the same	36%
Improved	33%

Percentage who said it had stayed the same or improved

R.C.	74%
M.A.	65%
Sask.	49%
Man.	70%
Ont.	73%
Que.	62%
N.B.	73%
N.S.	63%
P.E.I.	66%
N.W.T.	56%

In the same period, how has Canada's international reputation changed?

Worsened	24%
Stayed about the same	37%
Improved	34%

If you could have one of these in the next year, which would you choose?

More income	43%
Better health	42%
Better love life	32%

hood, not national pride and satisfaction on the other? Declara president Alan Gregg, who has analyzed every Maclean's postcard poll since 1984, argues that one of the most fundamental changes in Canadian society over the past decade has been the dramatic loss of faith in the country's leaders—not just politicians but public officials and government in general. (In 1984, fully half the respondents said they looked to government must to take care of their economic interests.)

Two years ago, when the question was last asked, the number had fallen to 27 per cent.) Rather than succumbing to despair and pessimism about the future, Gregg says, Canadians are turning inward, relying more on individual initiative and less on traditional decision-makers. "Having learned from bitter experience that they can no longer depend on those in positions of authority," Gregg says, "they are looking more to themselves, while remaining determined to fulfill their dreams."

The shift towards self-reliance is not necessarily a positive trend: moving other things, it expresses itself in a subtle determination to safeguard one's own position while turning away from the larger

problems that haunt society. As Gregg points out, it also signals a growing backlash against change and those who are perceived to be its agents. Infringements, young people and others who subscribe to posttraditional values. But in a world in which national borders are becoming increasingly meaningless, where everything from our ports to streams of digital information flow more or less freely from one market to another, a reduced role for governments, and more power for individuals, is perhaps inevitable.

In addition to the major national themes, this year's Maclean's/CTV survey also includes a comparison of Canadians' responses to a series of ethical questions—ranging from dodging the GST to carrying on an extramarital affair. The findings suggest that, as Canadians focus increasingly on their own interests, a growing number—particularly in the more heavily populated, urbanized areas of the country—are inclined to bend or break the rules that strike us as a society. Seventy-eight per cent, in fact, believe that the most honest people in society "are often taken all advantage of."

Finally, the poll focuses on an area that has probably changed more dramatically than any other since Maclean's began sampling public opinion: Canadians' use of high technology. Little more than a decade has passed since the first generation of personal computers began to appear in Canadian homes. Now, almost 60 per cent say that having a home computer will be important or essential in the next few years. Every step forward in the Information Age, however, brings trepidation. At most half the sample said that they cannot keep up with the information revolution. The wonder, perhaps, is that an even larger number feel secure in their ability to adjust to technological change, just as Canadians in general remain confident about their own—and their country's—future.



Brian Chiswell, three-time national figure skating champion, on Canada

"We have our problems, but we're very lucky to live in a country that allows us to be who we want to be"



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Truth or consequences

You are qualified for a promotion at work, but are informed that you are ineligible because the job has to go to a member of a minority group. What do you do?

Happily accept the decision	13%
Grudgingly accept the decision	27%
Make a formal protest	52%
Quit your job	6%

Percentage who would quit their job or protest

B.C.	63%
Alta.	63%
Sask.	55%
Man.	58%
Ont.	62%
Que.	50%
N.B.	45%
N.S.	57%
P.E.I.	59%
Nfld.	58%

If you were a student and obtained a copy of an important exam before it was given, what would you do?

Give it back without looking at it	48%
Look at it briefly and then turn it in	32%
Do over it in detail, looking up answers and preparing for the exam	21%

Percentage who would go over the exam in detail, by province

B.C.	12%
Alta.	40%
Sask.	17%
Man.	18%
Ont.	10%
Que.	36%
N.B.	16%
N.S.	19%
P.E.I.	12%
Nfld.	11%

Canada, says one expert, is becoming 'a nation of greedy, amoral self-promoters'

BY SCOTT STEELE

Perhaps it was a case of holiday soul-searching: Just two weeks before Christmas, a mysterious letter landed on the Toronto desk of John Cunningham, vice president of operations for the Hudson's Bay Co. In it, an anonymous letter writer from British Columbia, evidently plagued by her conscience, admitted to having stolen from a Bay store more than a decade earlier. Tucked into the envelope with her untimely confession were 10 cash \$20 bills. "It

happens all the time," says Cunningham, adding that the company receives similar letters almost every week. "But the number of people who confess is pretty small, possesses compared with the number of people we actually catch shoplifting."

The figure are added astronomical, according to the Retail Council of Canada. "Shop thieves" make off with more than \$2.25 billion annually from Canadian stores—about \$6 million a day. In its latest report on the problem, the council said that after a steady increase in theft over the past decade, retailers finally appear to have behind the upward trend. Good news for those who worry that Canadians are becoming increasingly unscrupulous? Not really, says Mel Frutkin, the council's vice-president. Instead, he attributes the leveling off to improved security and aggressive new anti-theft measures. The Bay, for example, announced earlier this year that, in addition to seeking criminal prosecution, it will sue shoplifters in civil court for the cost of the stolen goods and the money spent to recover them. Already, the company has filed as many as 5,000 lawsuits. "I think the reason that [over all] shop theft has not increased is because retailers are now more vigilant," Frutkin explains. "I don't think it is because people are any more honest."

On the contrary, many people are convinced that Canadians are becoming less honest—less respectful of the law and more inclined to engage in a wide range of unethical and unscrupulous practices, from pirating computer software to falsifying expense accounts and cheating on their taxes.

ing on their taxes. To explore the scale of the problem, last year's *Nation/MCTV* poll asked Canadians what they would do when confronted with a series of ethical dilemmas. Some of the findings:

- Thirty-one per cent of the respondents said that if they received a government cheque for \$2,000 to which they were obviously not entitled, they would keep the money.
- Fifty-eight per cent acknowledged that they would pay cash under the table to avoid paying taxes.
- Fourteen per cent reported a willingness to cheat on a business expense report, even if they were caught doing so by a fellow employee.
- Fifty-four per cent said that if they were a student and somehow managed to obtain a copy of an important exam before it was given, they would cheat either by looking at it briefly or going over it in detail to prepare for the test.

Are those results cause for alarm?

"Almost certainly," says Arthur Schaefer, director of the Centre for Professional and Applied Ethics at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. As a nation, Schaefer contends, "all of our focus is on government deficits, but we're also running a very significant moral deficit—and I think it's much more threatening to our society than the financial one." Adds Archbishop Michael Peers, primate of the Anglican Church of Canada: "We've been through a long period in the 1980s when moral and what happened was dominated by a philosophy of individualism. Ethical issues are individual and moral, but they are also social. And that is the worst of ethical situations: the toughest knock them down."

Few people, of course, would go so far as to suggest that the country has slid into a moral abyss. But many ethicists, moral philosophers and spiritual leaders maintain that there are significant stresses on the country's value system that must be addressed if Canadians are to avoid an ethical crisis. Among the factors influencing ethical behavior: tough economic times, a decline in respect for governments, religious organizations and other institutions, diminished emphasis on values in the education system,



and, perhaps most important, a weakening sense of community. "Ethics have a lot to do with our social relationships, and some of those involve relationships of reciprocity and trust between people," says Michael McDonald, director of the Centre for Applied Ethics at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. "What we are talking about ethics, we aren't just talking about clear rules. We are talking about how much people trust each other. What I see is a lot of suspicion about relationships where once there was trust."

According to McDonald, that fraying of the social fabric has encouraged people to focus increasingly on their own interests—to look out for number 1. "There is a sort of narcissism about people we don't trust," he said, "whether they are as well as, recent immigrants or what have you. Where before there was a willingness to give those people the benefit of the doubt—and in some cases be compassionate—there is now a sense that they are ripping us off, that there are difficult times and why should I be concerned about

If you received a \$2,000 cheque from the government that was obviously an error, would you . . . ?

Send it back	64%
Deposit the cheque and see what happens	26%
Cash it and spend it as quickly as possible	6%

Percentage who would deposit or cash the cheque, by province

B.C.	23%
Alta.	22%
Sask.	10%
Man.	27%
Ont.	30%
Que.	33%
N.B.	20%
N.S.	30%
P.E.I.	16%
Nfld.	8%

By age

17-24	45%
25-34	32%
35-44	18%



Ma-Angie Okonkwo, star of *The Joy of Learning*, on the importance of honesty

"Honest people are more trusting, but there are people out there who could take advantage of you"

If a good friend approached you with a new, illegal, mind-altering drug and assured you it was harmless, would you ... ?



A colleague at work catches you trying to claim a \$500 restaurant meal as your expense report, even though it was a personal expense. What do you do?



Percentage who would submit the personal claim, by age



If a stranger was staring at a member of the opposite sex in public, for a prolonged period, how would you describe his behavior?

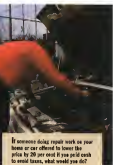


don't! And I'm worried about that."

One of the poll's findings clearly reinforces that lack of trust. Fully 78 per cent of respondents agreed with the statement: "People who are overly honest in our society are often taken advantage of." That finding was particularly troubling, Schuler and others say, because people who believe that everyone around them is behaving unethically are more likely to behave unethically themselves to avoid being let behind. "There is a tremendous amount of cynicism," Schuler observes. "Half often that means cheating—it means cheating on a course if you're a student, it means calculating carefully who your friends are, it means treating every relationship as a transaction. 'What can it do for me?'" Life skills that guide such as honesty, loyalty and public-goodness don't work only when there is "a widespread sense of fairness" and, in tough times, a belief that everyone is sharing the sacrifice. "I think we are systematically eroding all of that," he says, pointing to risks in Canada's social-safety net, "and as our effort to be competitive we are creating a nation of greedy, amoral self-promoters."

The response, many say, has only accentuated the inherent conflict between selfishness and a sense of social duty. "Ethics and economics are very often at odds with each other," says Barry Hollander, a professor of philosophy at the University of Western Ontario in London. "In any situation, the right thing to do conflicts with what might be more profitable. When things get difficult, that's when added pressure on people." David Selzer, chairman of the Canadian Centre for Ethics and Corporate Policy in Toronto and audit director for the accounting firm Ernst & Young, agrees that the social and economic environment has strained people's sense of moral duty. "It probably makes it easier for them to see how justifying it to themselves doesn't get them to better times, most would regard as reprehensible."

Marion Best, moderator of the United Church of Canada, the country's largest Protestant denomination, offers yet another explanation for some of the poll's findings. "The point is that many people tend to be obedient or push the boundaries in situations involving institutions or government," she says. "Some of it probably



If someone doing repair work on your home or car offered to lower the price by 20 per cent if you paid cash to avoid taxes, what would you do?

Percentage who would accept the offer, by province



has to do with our alienation from institutions generally—they seem distant, bureaucratic and faceless." Adds Hollander: "People will often think twice about cheating when they can see that somebody might actually be harmed by it. But when it is the government, which seems very impersonal, it is easy to rationalize that kind of behavior."

Interestingly, poll respondents from smaller provinces, where there is arguably a more direct



by defined sense of community, was considerably less likely to express a willingness to bend the rules. In Newfoundland, 50 per cent of respondents said they would pay cash to avoid the GST, by contrast, 69 per cent in Metropolitan Toronto said they would do so. Similarly, only 16 per cent of Newfoundlanders said they would fraudulently cash a government cheque, compared with 33 per cent at Quebec. And a mere 10 per cent of Saskatoon residents said they would be willing to cheat on an expense report, the national average was 14 per cent.

In a survey that is becoming increasingly unbalanced, that ethical poll between more and less densely populated regions of the country may well widen. And in another development that may not bode well for the future, younger poll respondents appeared significantly less honest than older Canadians. Of respondents under the age of 24, 41 acknowledged 73 per cent said they would cheat on an expense if given the opportunity. Forty-eight per cent of people in that age bracket said they would cash a government cheque sent to them in error, and 27 per cent would have no qualms about cheating a person who had no qualms about cheating a person.



Pat MacEwan, author on whether he would be tempted to have an affair

12% of men said they would have an affair. Of women: 4%

sexual exclusively on about. "We don't talk about sales or business or my men," says Western's Hollander. "All we have are celebrities. There aren't many people to emulate or look up to in the public spotlight."

Given the current stresses, it is little wonder that Canadians who speculate in advising corporate or financial institutions are better than ever. "Ethics and bankruptcy counseling are probably the only two businesses that have thrived through the recession," says David MacEwan, president of Ethicon Canada, a Toronto-based firm that has clients in both the public and private sectors. "What we are discussing in organizations is that people are thinking for more ethics training, prevention and management."

Philip MacEwan, executive director of the Canadian Society for the Study of Practical Ethics, also senses that craving. "Many of us want to become more honest and more ethical," he says. "Practical ethics has become a growth industry."

But MacEwan and others also maintain that Canadians are becoming increasingly wary of discussing and promoting values of right and wrong because they believe, either mistakenly, that is doing so they may offend people from diverse cultural, ethnic or religious backgrounds. Says Ethicon's Lowrie, executive director of the Canadian Centre for Ethics and Corporate Policy: "Instead of saying, 'Look, all cultures have an ethic of caring for one another, all religions have an ethic of honesty,' we instead throw the baby out with the bath."

Like Lowrie, MacEwan says that Canadians need to recognize the values common to all their various cultures, rather than focusing on their differences. "What will emerge," he argues, "are values about honesty, truthfulness, family relationships, relationships with nature, relationships with the divine, justice and caring that all Canadians share."

Only that, he believes, will ensure the country from sustained ethical decay. □

You are married but you meet someone who is extremely attractive and interested in a brief affair. Do you ... ?

Indicates your appreciation but do not act on the possibility **89%**

Have a quick affair and hope no one finds out **6%**

Have the affair in the hope that it turns into a longer relationship **2%**

Percentage who said they would have an affair, by province



Have you ever actually had an affair while married?



Percentage who acknowledged having an affair, by province



"People who are overly honest in our society are often taken advantage of."



The moral high ground

"In Canada, we hold politicians up to an unrealistically high standard that is almost impossible to meet."

Agreed **39%**
Disagreed **59%**

In general, respondents with less education were more likely to agree that politicians are held up to unrealistic standards.

Percentage who agreed, by level of education:

Public/less high school	46%
High-school graduate	43%
College/university/technician	34%
Attended university	29%

"Too many people who seek public office do so for financial gain."

Agreed **77%**
Disagreed **22%**

Percentage who agreed, by household income:

Under \$20,000	84%
\$20,000 to \$39,999	72%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	72%
\$60,000+	64%



Do as we say, voters seem to be telling their elected officials—not as we do

Bright, brash and a self-described "battler for what I believe in," Reform MP Deborah Grey is accustomed to facing—and overcoming—big challenges. The 45-year-old former teacher first ran as a candidate for Reform in 1988 because, she says, "I believed I could achieve things for the country as a politician." If we could change the way politics is done in the country," she lost, but four months later Grey won a by-election in the Alberta riding of Beaver River. That made her, for the next four years, the party's only representative in the House of Commons. When she was re-elected in 2005, joined by 51 other Reform MPs, "I thought we could really start to change things," she recalls. But first, Grey had to follow the way some of her own followers thought. One byproduct of Reform's success came in the form of enemas from friends and supporters. "I had people sitting up to me, saying 'I've—what about a job for my wife, or son, or daughter?'" she says. "I had to say, 'You build, forget it.' Politics for pals are the kind of stuff we came to Ottawa to eliminate, not perpetuate."

Do as we say, not as we do. To a certain extent, that describes the attitude of Canadians towards their elected politicians. According to the Media/News/CIVIC poll, many respondents are asking serious questions about the ethics of politicians and politicians—both are applied by the same margin that politicians might do. However, they agree, overlooks history, with the statement that "too many people who seek public office do so for financial gain." And they are largely correct, despite the double standard they apply to their own behavior and that of elected officials, that their expectations of politicians are not unrealistic. It is almost enough to drive



David Robinson
not up on the public's
view of politicians.

"One of the sad things about Canada is that we don't respect our elected figures. We're down there with bill collectors."

twice. His present salary of \$111,000 when he preached how "I knew getting into this line of work that people would have expectations of me that I would behave in a certain way. I understand that's not that long ago that I was in private life and sharing exactly those expectations."

Now, perhaps more than ever, satisfying public expectations of probity and restraint is a priority among politicians from all parties. Serving the public interest, after all, is one of the most elusive virtues by which political parties can distinguish themselves from their rivals at a time when their policies on a range of important issues appear increasingly similar. All three of the federal parties in the Commons, for example, have free trade among the provinces and with other countries. And the Liberals, who sought to power their new wave of Progressive Conservative rule, have ridged enmeshed or only slightly amended Tony's policies on such issues as deficit reduction, the reform of social programs and tax reform.

But there is another reason for the present concern for political ethics. Reform, more than any other party in recent Canadian history, has raised the issue and broken with the traditional allegory consensus on such subjects as pensions, Social

of these efforts have appeared misguided or even contradictory. Reform Leader Preston Manning, for one, bore at least a faint air of hypocrisy last March when he acknowledged—after years of criticizing such benefits—that he receives a clothing subsidy from the party. But Reform MPs have also campaigned successfully against the use and abuse of executive government jets, respectively pushed the changes to the existing parliamentary pension plan, and boycotted trips abroad paid for by foreign groups.

To a reasonable extent, the Liberals, still acting in the public, have also succeeded in projecting an image that meets public expectations. "The two things people want most in a leader are integrity and a sense of responsibility," says Peter Donohue, communications adviser to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. "If they feel a leader is being straight with them, they will accept the need for tough decisions at times. If not, they will question absolutely everything."

Even Chrétien's political foes do not challenge his integrity, or his character. "The Prime Minister," says Manning, "is a good and sincere man—although, of course, we disagree with him on many policy issues." Another consideration, says Donohue, "is that if you are going to talk about the need for tough financial measures, as we are, don't you have to show some financial responsibility yourself?" To that end, the Liberals have imposed a freeze on staff stars for cabinet ministers, grounded most of the travel used for transporting cabinet ministers, and strangled many of the expensive fundraisers from the 550-and-500-farbs (as ordered when former prime minister Brian Mulroney was in power).

On some counts, however, the Liberals have failed a much better game than they have played. More than a year after their election, the Liberals will have not acted on their promise to institute a code of ethics for lobbyists and require them to report fees, "in relation to government procurement contracts." In fact, Bill C-43, the legislation that would result in changes to the existing Lobbyists Registration Act, ended the year bogged down in a parliamentary subcommittee.

Similarly, the Liberals told voters that they would appear as ethical reformers who would "report directly to Parliament." That once in power, the Liberals retro-acted from that undertaking, the councillor, Howard Wilson, named reports only to Chrétien. Meanwhile, the party's plan to introduce legislation by the end of 2004 to reduce the amount of MPs' pensions were set back, at least until February, after some caucus members' liberty attacked



Grey: "Values for pals are the kind of stuff we came to Ottawa to eliminate, not perpetuate."

the plot. Significantly, although the Liberals' position is a new issue of "values" in government, the debate over pensions took place in confidential caucus meetings.

Still, the Liberals' politicians blend of symbols and reality stands in splendid to paid voters but obviously worried—so much so, in fact, that Chrétien, in a year-end interview with *Maclean's*, declared that the single biggest achievement of his government after its first year in power was "the restoration of public faith in our institutions." That may be stretching the point, but it is probably fair to say that voters are happier with their political leaders in Ottawa than they have been in some time. One reason may be that when it comes to ethical issues, politicians—despite all the public finger-wagging they receive—are not the only ones to talk a bigger game than they play.

The higher a respondent's income, the less likely he or she was to agree that politicians are motivated by money

Under \$20,000	84%
\$20,000 to \$39,999	72%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	72%
\$60,000+	64%

If someone doing repair work on your home or car offered to lower the price by 25 per cent if you paid cash to avoid taxes, what would YOU do?

What should a politician do in the same situation?

Report the person to the authorities.

5%	39%
Pay him or her after	38%
Accept the offer	40%
10%	5%

ANTHONY WILSON-SOUTH in Ottawa

A nation transformed

Compared with a decade ago, the balance of young people is now ...

Much better	1%
Somewhat better	5%
About the same	17%
Somewhat worse	35%
Much worse	42%

Do you agree or disagree that ... ?

The next generation will probably not be as dedicated to hard work as were previous generations.

Strongly agree	10%
Agree	42%
Disagree	22%
Strongly disagree	9%

In the years ahead, the family will become more important than ever.

Strongly agree	21%
Agree	52%
Disagree	21%
Strongly disagree	3%

Percentage of respondents aged 16 to 26 who said that young people's balance of work was more important than ever.

79%
71%



Over the past 10 years the quality of immigrants coming to Canada has ...

Worsened	67%
Stayed about the same	29%
Improved	14%

For all the turmoil of the past decade, Canadians have not lost faith in themselves



Rock: He no longer defers to authority

BY ALLAN R. GRIGG

"A confident nation speaks up" was the headline of the inaugural issue of the *Maclean's/Dominion* poll a decade ago. Our first nationwide sounding of public opinion made it clear that, after 30 years of virtually unmitigated Liberal rule, the government of Pierre Trudeau had become associated in the public's mind with excessive intervention into the private sector, unnecessary conflict with the provinces and an unrelenting and indefensible commitment to the status quo. Against this backdrop, it was not surprising that Canadians had just embraced a new Conservative government that represented a much less assertive approach to business and promised a "Time for Change."

Indeed, in 1984, the people not only felt change was inevitable—they anticipated and welcomed it. Little could we have known that a decade later

this confidence would deteriorate into such a virulent antipathy towards Brian Mulroney's government that it would produce the most resounding electoral defeat of an incumbent in Canadian history. But this year's poll makes it possible to see that it was not only the fortunes of the Mulroney government that suffered in those 10 years. Canadians, too, feel they have been traumatized by events and let down by their leaders, and have seen the optimism they had about the future contradicted by their depleted lives.

In many ways, this finding should be a surprise to no one. For between 1984 and 1985, Canada and Canadians went through a uniquely agonizing series of squashed dreams and setbacks. I was the Tory party publisher, and all I could do was to tell the voters of the blame for these problems. But there were also larger forces at work. The promise of free trade that we forgot, 94 per cent of Canadians thought it was a "good idea" in 1983, ended up in the bitter and divisive election of 1985, which in turn segued, without pause, into the worst recession in the history of anyone under 50. Repeated promises of deficit reduction produced little except more and new taxes—and a further escalation of the nation's debt. And the trouble to rest Quebec's "independence" at home left out of the 1985 paradise of the Constitution led to a three-year preoccupation with an issue that totally failed to square with the population's growing concern over the economy and the prospect of unemployment.

For all this, we still believe that "Canada is the best country in the world in which to live." Today, however, we embrace this notion with significantly less ardor than we did in 1984. (While the overall support for Canada as "best country" has gone down only slightly from 1984's phenomenal 96 per cent to 91 per cent now, there has been a

big drop-off in enthusiasm. Respondents going beyond "agree" to say they "strongly agree" with the statement are down 30 per cent now from 36 per cent then.) In fact, this year's poll finds more Canadians believing that almost all facets of society that we treated had deteriorated rather than improved. Two notable exceptions, where respondents still are improvement: Canada's international reputation and the prospects for women's advancement in the work place.

When the findings are put in context, however, it seems clear that the erosion of confidence has been pronounced in two areas. A decade ago, the pervasive antipathy with an incumbent administration might have caused Canadians to question whether government could still provide for the public good. But, in fact, the population still believed that the political system could at least arbitrate its differences and add definition to what in fact was in the public interest. And for all the discreditable derision, politicians were still held in the esteem of that generation. Today, however, half of the population reports a growing gap between those who govern and our constituents, and a majority of these constituents believes the reason is simply that our politicians and other power brokers "no longer represent the interests of average Canadians."

For a nation that looked to government, historically, for everything from banking to transportation and communications systems, to helping those who could not help themselves, to strong influences of foreign domination, to pro-



tecting minority interests—in short, to defining the population's uniqueness as a people and a nation—this change in thinking idea to being orphaned. Canadians no longer defer to the authority figures they traditionally relied upon for guidance, answers and protection.

No less unsettling, the decade past has also shaken Canadians' faith in the inevitability of economic and financial progress. Since the Second World War, generations of Canadians were brought up to believe that not only was progress desirable, it was also to be expected. That the quiet and disquiet, social upheaval and technological change that were hallmarks of the post decade taught Canadians that it was wrong, if not impossible to cling to that core belief. Left without their most potent philosophical compass, Canadians lost much of the staying focus that had underpinned a stable and civil society. But simply, Canadians asked: "If I can no longer believe that I work hard I can be anything I want, and if I can no longer believe that my children can expect to be better off than I am, what else I believe?" The absence of any widely held answer to this question simply added to the national unease.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, however, this decline in the nation's faithfulness is not perceived to be rooted in the trauma of the

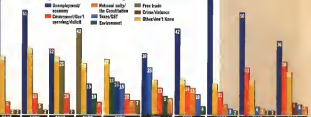
Over the past 10 years, the health care system has ...

Worsened	44%
Stayed about the same	53%
Improved	21%

Percentage who said the health-care system had deteriorated, by province

B.C.	39%
Alta.	58%
Sask.	58%
Man.	42%
Ont.	48%
Que.	43%
N.B.	47%
N.S.	54%
P.E.I.	43%
Nfld.	59%

Tracking the most important issue



Over the past 10 years, the gap between the wealthy and the middle class has ...

Narrowed significantly	9%
Narrowed somewhat	9%
Stayed about the same	25%
Increased somewhat	28%
Increased significantly	32%

What is the main reason for the increase?

Tax loopholes for the wealthy	33%
Higher taxes on the middle class	27%

A decline in job and financial opportunities for the middle class

The best education is available only to the wealthy	6%
---	----

A decline in the middle-class work ethic

All of the above	2%
None of the above	12%

Percentage who blamed a decline in job opportunities, by age

18-24	38%
25-34	21%
35-49	15%

Over the past 10 years, the gap between what is important to average Canadians and the elite has ...

Narrowed	15%
Stayed about the same	35%
Increased	51%

Over the past 10 years, attitudes between men and women in the home have ...

Worsened	43%
Stayed about the same	20%
Improved	36%

Have opportunities for women to move into senior positions in the workforce improved or worsened over the 10 years?

Yes	2%
Worsened	12%
Stayed the same	15%
Improved	6%
Worsened	18%
Stayed the same	75%



Jason Dunn, executive, on the gap between the rich and the middle-class:

'A lot of people are struggling in our economy and there is great distress about whether they can pay the rent or cover costs.'



average Canadian's own financial well-being. Instead, Canadians lay the blame for their problems and their lost sense of self on a system that no longer appears to be working—but it is still a government—and the changing behaviour and values of "others"—be they young people or immigrants.

The picture that emerges is one of a people who still feel they have a great country and still believe they may be able to flourish in it, but many now complain of being in a slow-growth economy that threatens the values they treasure and, consequently, stand in the way of the fulfillment of their aspirations. The danger we note in these soundings of public opinion, in turn, is fuelled further by the conviction that these ineptitudes are not of their own making, and, instead, have been created and created by leaders who are in charge of a system that is breaking down and by fellow Canadians who fail to share their appreciation of these traditions and values. You can almost hear the frustrated voice of old Canada in this part of the data, bemoaning the fact that things are not the way they used to be. Rather than welcoming change, these Cana-



Toronto police officer with weapons confiscated from high school students: a last scene of calm



ans now face the future with far more trepidation.

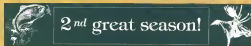
As negative as this analysis may seem, the poll also reveals a confidence and resilience in the Canadian spirit. Having detected a decline in their environment and noted their resulting despair, Canadians still feel they share enough common ground, that the country is sufficiently strong to weather the storms and, in the end, that they can regroup and overcome the adversity of the past 10 years. But the people also report that they will rely less than they have in the past on "others" and face traditional values to produce the solutions they seek.

Instead, in search of a deeper root to anchor them from the dislocations produced all around them, Canadians have turned inward. They have become more consumed with family and with controlling problems they feel they themselves can resolve.

Not so much a "confidence crisis" any more, Canada nonetheless continues to be a volatile nation—economy and determined to see the direction trends reversed, yet still uncertain as to precisely how this will happen. While eventually, within this context, Prime Minister Jean Chretien remains the most popular political leader in modern times, the poll responses give the average Canadian will and want for ever for a more stable line to contribute. It seems equally that Canadians today are probably less able and willing to take another decade of the kind of suffering they feel they have experienced over the past 10 years.

While the analogy is somewhat relevant, the public Canadian today is neither to that of a person who has been assaulted unexpectedly and, in his view, without provocation. His first instinct is to call on his protective herd position, waiting a protective aid for the next blow. For the time being, the assault appears to have stopped. If current conditions continue, Canadians—like that abused individual—will probably recover and continue on their previous course, lessened but no wiser as to why they encountered this unpleasant experience. But if the blows begin to rain down again, it is as likely that we will see up, full of fury, rather than put up with any more.

Allen R. Gray is president of Toronto-based Strategic Research.



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Brought to you by:

A brave new world

Computer technology is changing the way Canadians live, work—and think

BY JOE CHIDLEY

The last time the world was so awash in hype about technology, Neil Armstrong was walking on the moon. Anyone who grew up during the 1960s and early 1970s—inspired as *Star Trek*, 2001: A Space Odyssey and the Apollo program—might reasonably have guessed that by the 1990s he or she would be commuting to work in a jet suit, or piloting a spacecraft to Alpha Centauri. Space dominated pop culture a generation ago—from the cartoon world of the Jetsons to the astronauts or-

The only difference is that the hype surrounding the Information Age is not science fiction. And the revolution has already begun.

The technologies involved are varied, but at their heart is the computer. With their capacity to store and transmit vast amounts of data over global networks such as the Internet, computers have made it infinitely easier for people in different places to share information. It sounds simple, but it has ramifications for almost every aspect of modern life. "It [the essence of change in the com-

puter] is the essence of change in the communication of things," notes James Burke, science historian, author and host of the TV series Connections and Connections+, "then the means to communicate is the key activator. And every time you get a major jump in the ability to communicate, you get massive changes of innovation."

To state the obvious, computers are changing the way Canadians live, work and play. Nationally, 29 per cent of respondents in the Nielsen/ACV and said that they now own a home computer, while 27 per cent of those who do not said that they "definitely" or "probably" will purchase one in the next year. More significant, perhaps, is the fact that in every region, and in every age, income and education bracket, a majority said that having a computer in the home would be "essential" or "important" to their future plans.

But recognizing the importance of the new technologies and being comfortable with them are different things. Poll respondent Sandra Sheppard, 34, a registered nursing assistant in Charlotteville, owns a two-year-old IBM PS/2, and strongly agrees that a home computer will be essential as the next few years. Her two children, Justin, 15, and Gregory, 7, use the computer to study and to play games. Her husband, Stuart, an RCMP officer, uses it to do what is still quickly referred to as "paperwork." Sheppard himself says that she can do "pretty much anything" on her PS/2—but still finds the world of computer tech-

nology bewildering. "There's so much going on with computers—shopping, banking, stuff like that," says Sheppard. "I find it intimidating. I feel like any old person can teach a button and find out anything about you, you know?"

Sheppard is not alone in her trepidation. A significant minority of respondents—43 per cent—agreed that the increasing use of computers and other high-tech devices "has reduced our privacy and made our lives more complicated." And fully 47 per cent said they worry that they cannot keep pace with all the changes in technology today.

These statistics are understandable, given the rapid pace of change. A decade ago, a "mouse" was a furry rodent—now, any child knows that it is also a tool to manipulate data. Banking, once an occasion for human interaction, has become a largely electronic ritual thanks to automated teller machines. Cellular phones have enabled cities to carry on conversations far from any telephone line, and satellite phones allow calls literally from anywhere in the world. Vinyl records are relics of history; a five-track digital compact disc is music today. CD-ROMs can store the equivalent of 250,000 pages of printed text—200 copies of War and Peace written on the old-fashioned way with ink and paper. Pay-per-view movies now compete head-to-head with the video rental industry—fledgling since last decade's old—and shopping by computer may one day make the shopping mall redundant. Indeed, the evolution of the computer itself is an object lesson in change. In 1984, IBM's standard is now less than 10 years ago—in use practically as antique in a world where computers are more than 10 years faster and hundreds of times more powerful.

But if Canadians are already living the shock of the new, they had better get ready for more—much more. Some of the changes will be directly affect consumers. Cash will give way to debit cards, phone calls will be made with a wireless chat, just as the Dick Tracy comics always promised. But there are only two most obvious byproducts of the Information Age. Deeper changes are afoot—in education, in the workplace, perhaps even in government.

Burke, a former BBC science



commentator who lives in London, is now studying the educational applications of something he calls "hypermedia." Using CD-ROM technology and modern "web" would be virtual schoolhouses, allowing self-directed learning by computer and encouraging students to make their own "personal and idiosyncratic connections between data," Burke says. The upshot would be less emphasis on memorizing information and more on fostering the ability to think rationally, to discern logical patterns in masses of data. "If we don't teach our kids to think like that," says Burke, "it would be the nobody having bothered to teach a kid to read since Gutenberg printed books."

In many Canadian families, of course, it is the children who are most comfortable with the new technologies. From computers at school to Nintendo at home, they have grown up in the era of the microchip, in which the ability to manipulate vast quantities of data with a single keystroke is taken for granted. Many adults, on the other hand, clearly feel overwhelmed by the speed of technological change. In the Nielsen/ACV poll, 68 per cent of respondents agreed that the biggest difference between themselves and younger people was the latter's understanding of new technology. That view applied across all age groups, ranging from 79 per cent among 55-to-64-year-olds to 56 per cent among those aged 25 to 34, the youngest group surveyed.

Burke notes that numbers like this that the information revolution will send those who cannot adapt to the economic trash bin. In effect, across the world, the aspect is already being felt—as light-speed

"One of the biggest differences between me and younger people is their understanding of new technologies."

Agreed 68%
Disagreed 35%

How important will it be for people to have home computers in the next few years?

Essential 25%
Important but not essential 40%
Nice to have but not necessary 30%
Not necessary at all 5%

Percentage who said that owning a home computer will soon be essential, by region

P.E.I. 26%
Prairies 31%
Ont. 28%
Que. 15%
Atlantic 24%

Which of the following do you use with your computer?

Word-processing software 93%
Game software 73%
Spreadsheet or financial management software 66%
Modem 45%
CD-ROM 27%

Do you currently own a computer for your home?

Yes 23%
No 64%

Ownership of home computer, by province

B.C. 43%
Alta. 40%
Sask. 34%
Man. 29%
Que. 45%
Ont. 33%
N.S. 31%
N.B. 27%
P.E.I. 11%
Atl. 23%

Ownership of home computer, by education

Public/semi-high school 16%
High-school graduate 36%
College/vocational/technical 43%
Attained university 61%

Who is the most frequent user of the computer in your home?

Self 43%
Another adult 29%
Children under 18 years 19%
All equally 9%



Children working with interactive software: computers have made it infinitely easier for people to share information

69% of Canadians say that anything is changing so fast, it's hard to imagine life 10 years from now

Do your children use the computer mainly for education or entertainment?

Education 35%
Entertainment 28%
Both equally 40%

"The increasing use of personal computers, cellular phones and other high-tech devices has reduced our leisure time and made our lives more complicated."

Agreed 43%
Disagreed 55%

Older respondents were more likely to agree that computers have made life more complicated.

Percentage who agreed, by age:

18-24 35%
25-34 38%
35-44 43%
45-54 43%
55-64 56%
65+ 64%



"I worry that I can't keep up with all the changes in technology today."

Agreed 47%
Disagreed 52%

Percentage who agreed, by level of education:

Public/home high school 61%
High-school graduate 48%
College/university/technical 63%
Attended university 57%

By province:

B.C. 68%
Alta. 45%
Sask. 50%
Man. 63%
Que. 48%
Ont. 43%
N.B. 57%
P.E.I. 47%
N.S. 55%
Nfld. 55%

communications systems across the board for several layers of management. One example: in the mid 1990s, Hewlett-Packard, a world-wide manufacturer of computer printers and other high-tech peripherals, became one of the first companies to set up an internal electronic mail system. Benford noted, says Dan Burdick, president and CEO of Hewlett-Packard (Canada) Ltd., upper managers "talked about things at a meeting, and some of it may have been passed on—or not—based on an intermediate manager felt was important. Quite often, it was difficult to get consistent messages to frontline workers" that now flow at HP Canada's 1,800 workers can interact managers to any office in Canada or around the world with the push of a button. As a result, corporate information is directly available to every employee—regardless of how low they are on the company totem pole.

That is good news for CEOs—these employees are now better informed—but bad news for the totem pole, especially the part it is occupied by middle managers. Before 1992, they were largely responsible for doing what retail now does. "Over time, we've had less of those types of managers," says Burdick, whose company has been increasing the number of mid-level managers since 1996. "You literally lose the need for those individuals, because employees are better capable of doing things themselves."

Burdick sees the Hewlett-Packard experience as the shape of things to come: the need for middle managers in management wasn't, more people will work away from centralized flows or factories—telecommuting, in techno-jargon. As a result, "the laborious Revolution will reverse," Burdick declares. "We will move out of the cubicles—we're too big and they don't work." Burdick once believes the end of representative democracy, the foundation of Western government for the past three centuries. "It was invented because the north were busy in the 18th century and only a few elite with paid spies would risk the hazards to go to London to represent you," he says. "Well, that's fine, but now we have modern—we don't need those guys."

Not everyone agrees, of course, with this popular notion. But there are already signs that governments are taking notice. Communications consultants like Ito of Toronto and Arthur Corfield of Ottawa recently



Computer assembly-line workers: "every time you get a major jump in the ability to communicate, you get massive surges of innovation!"

published a paper, "The New Wealth of Nations," in which they tackle the question of how governments will collect taxes when the most valuable commodity is not oil or gold, but information. At first, they point out, electronically transmitted data is ephemeral and difficult to trace—and therefore difficult to tax. Their summary Canadian solution is scuffed but has lived every time a Canadian citizen or contributes information to a global network.

Unfortunately for Revenue Canada, and contrary to George Orwell, bureaucratic control looks likely to be one of the first casualties of the information Age. During the privacy ministry uprisings in 1986—eventually crushed at

Toronto's Square—dissidents launched an anti-government motto campaign using fax machines. They got lost into that battle, but to retrospective revenues around the world, however, the advantages are now communicating freely by modem—expressing subversive ideas that they would never have been able to get away with in print. Closer to home, information about Karl's Humilis, sentenced to 12 years in prison for his role in the murders of two Ontario teenagers, can be found in abundance on the Internet and similar, smaller networks across the country, despite a court ban on the publication of details about the case.

That, ultimately, is either the most encouraging—or frustrating—thing about the current revolution: with a modest investment of money and effort, anybody can speed down the information highway.

Or, as Burdick puts it, "The minute you have that technology in the hands of a small number of ordinary nonprofessionals, the cat's out of the bag." And nothing is going to put the cat back in. □



Bob Trueman, wheelchair athlete, on whether computers have made life easier

"For the disabled, the application of new technology has just been phenomenal. You can't imagine what it is like for a blind person to have a talking book."

Bedtime stories

Great expectations and a tale of two cities

On most Saturday nights, Bob Gosselin pulls on his jeans and cowboy boots and heads to Winnipeg's Sutherland bar. From the top floor of the country-and-western nightclub, the 36-year-old business student surveys the scene below, looking for women who want to talk and dance. "I often approach the prettiest women," says Gosselin, one of 1,618 Canadians interviewed for this year's *Montreal/CTV* poll, "because most men go the other way."



Bob Gosselin, 36, who looks no worse than his own thought about having sex with a stranger.

"Yes. And shortly after that, I divorced him."

said the results may simply indicate that Montrealers and other Quebecers are more willing to talk honestly about sex. Added Gosselin: "Quebecers are less likely to be diagnosed as asexual."

By contrast, the poll suggests that many "Thomomans are starved for physical affection. Although 14 per cent of people polled in Canada's largest city reported having three or more sexual partners in 1994, even more—28 per cent—said they had not had sex with anyone at all last year. One well-known former Montrealer, Roger Abbott of CTV's *Royal Canadian Air Force*, thinks that public may be at the root of the problem. The separation threat has prompted thousands of anglo-Quebecers to move to Toronto during the past two decades—and that, he says, has only added to the city's legendary social chill.

Abbott: "As all the Anglos leave Montreal, naturally it's not going to reflect well on Toronto."

Quebec's more carnivorous attitude towards sex was also captured in another question. Respondents were asked to describe the behavior of someone who was staring at a member of the opposite sex in public for a prolonged period. While only four per cent of British Columbians said such behavior was "acceptable," 36 per cent of Quebecers chose that description. Robert Gosselin, who teaches in the anatomy department at the Montreal campus of the University of Quebec, and that many Quebecers consider looking to be just part of the sexual game. "It's part of the male's prowess," said Gosselin. And for many Canadians, winning at that game is a consuming passion.

How would you describe your sex life?

Very sexually active	12%
Somewhat sexually active	56%
Not very sexually active	37%
Not sexually active at all	13%
No answer	5%

Respondents who described themselves as "very sexually active," by province:

B.C.	16%
Alta.	40%
Sask.	18%
Man.	11%
Ont.	16%
Que.	11%
N.B.	11%
N.S.	11%
P.E.I.	13%
Nfld.	15%

Percentage of respondents in Toronto who described themselves as "very sexually active," 45% in the rest of Ontario: 12%

How many sexual partners have you had in the past year?

None	14%
One	55%
Two	5%
Three/four	3%
Five or more	2%

Average number of sex partners, reported by age:

By married respondents: 1.03

Age group with the highest average number of sex partners: 40 to 49 (0.77)

How often do you think about having sex with a stranger?

Never	82%
Rarely	13%
Sometimes	19%
Often	4%
No answer	5%

Percentage of men who answered "often" and "always": "often" 38% "always" 8%



The perception gap

In the past 10 years, the amount of violent crime in Canada has...



Percentage who said violent crime has increased a great deal.



What is the main reason for the increase in violent crime?



*Add of those who answered "other."

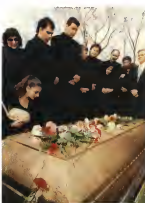


Despite what crime experts say, demands for harsher penalties are growing louder

The shot rang out over the late-night chatter and plates of chocolate almost chocolate, rippling through 22-year-old Georgina Lefebvre's chair—a student, sometimes homeless that shattered, a lonely Toronto neighborhood's young sense of vulnerability. When three men barged into a chic sweet shop called Just Desserts last April, the blast from their sword-cut designs resounded from coast to coast. Coming a week after British engineer Nicholas Barnardo strangled down Ottawa's Elgin Street at the wrong time on an early Sunday evening, to become the capital's first drive-by shooting fatality, Lefebvre's slumped gaited Canadian around an inner core was a minority American obsession crime.

In a year when 1,000 strangers showed up at Battered's funeral and 3,500 spilled onto the sidewalk outside Toronto's St. Michael's Greek Orthodox Church to pay their last respects to Lefebvre, it hardly seems surprising that the Maclean's/CTV poll found Canadians to be more fearful for their safety than ever before in the past decade. These worried risked crime as the third most important problem confronting the nation—far below concerns about the economy and government spending, but nearly above all national angst, taxation and the environment. And July 85 per cent said they believe that the rate of violent crime has increased, over the past decade (51 per cent last year, believe that the problem has become a great deal worse). What is most astounding about those figures is that in previous Maclean's polls dating back to 1980 the issue had barely registered on the public pulse: never had more than two per cent identified crime as the country's top problem. Said Mary Thompson, a Western police critic: "The problem is massive in the eyes of the people. Anybody sitting in their ivory tower in Ottawa saying everything is hunky-dory had better think twice."

So what has changed? Nothing, say the statis-



Funeral for Georgina Lefebvre; her death shattered a lonely neighborhood's sense of invulnerability

ticians' system that, like most that in 1993, the overall rate of crimes reported to the police actually fell by five per cent, 90,936 of crimes per 100,000 people. (The reported rate of violent crime was virtually unchanged from 1992, after rising steadily over the previous decade.) And according to a survey released by Statistics Canada in June, the properties of Canadians who were criminal victims in 1993 were exactly the same as five years earlier—24 per cent. In this year's Maclean's/CTV survey, 35 per cent said they, as someone close to them, had been victims of a crime in the past two or three years—but only 35 per cent of the entire sample had been affected personally. Still, that young perception gap has failed to convince an increasingly skeptical public. "I think they like statistics and

wrong," said an advisor. Then Lefebvre, Georgina's brother, a 26-year-old Toronto writer, said: "It's worse. Someone is getting shot and killed every day. And when it hits home, it's a whole different ball game."

With the help of others in Toronto's Greek community, Tim Lefebvre has launched Ontario Parents Against Crime (OPAC), the latest of a handful of victims' rights groups that have sprung up across the country in the past decade. And like Phyllis de Villiers, a Burlington, Ont., woman who founded a similar group after the murder of her teenage daughter Nana three years ago, they are demanding tougher justice and public policy. "The public has become totally cynical about the numbers," said de Villiers, who submitted a petition to that effect to the justice department last February with 2.5 million names from across the country. "These are people who are just tired of worrying and want to protect their families."

Reflecting these concerns, 40 per cent of those polled said that the main reason for the perceived jump in crime is that the justice system is too lenient. Only 30 per cent blamed parents who failed to pass on the right values to their children. Paradoxically, a man in Quebec—where viewers are less apt to visit American TV programs—said that people were most likely to blame increased crime on television. Twenty-four per cent of respondents in that province chose that answer, compared with eight per cent in Ontario and six per cent in British Columbia.

What worries public officials is that these perceptions of a lax Canadian justice system again, by a 1990-1991 study by a Washington-based think tank, Canada has the fourth-highest incarceration rate among 22 developed nations. And University of Ottawa criminologist Judith Roberts points out that, despite public impressions to the contrary, only about a third of federal offenders are released on bail; people after serving five years are one-third of their sentences. Most of others serve two-thirds of their sentences before being released under supervision. "There are a lot of mispercep-



tion, he said. "The politicians tend to react to how people feel, and they turn it into an issue we've got to do something about, so it becomes a feedback loop."

Justice Minister Allan Rock, perhaps more than anyone, knows how strong those pressures have become. From a new federal crime-prevention program last summer to a tougher gun-control policy unveiled in late November, he is clearly determined to show Canadians that Ottawa is getting tough as crime rises. Even so, Rock cautions to note that there is no benefit to be gained by "happily throwing more people in the slammer."

And criminologists have repeatedly pointed out that if stiffer sentences discouraged crime, from the United States, which has the developed world's harshest penalties, would boast the most crime-free society. The statistics say, "Look up more people," said Anthony Doherty, a criminologist at the University of Toronto. "But crime numbers aren't going to reduce crime."

Still, the public demand for harsher penalties is growing. And a month after being shot down in Sask. St. Mary, Ont., by associates of his new gun-control bill, Rock might also feel some caution in another feeling: only five per cent of the Canadians surveyed blamed the problem of violent crime on an absence of stronger gun-control laws.

Although the survey showed that relatively few respondents claimed a personal brush with crime, it did paint a striking portrait of those most likely to have been victims: people between the ages of 18 and 34 living in large cities in British Columbia or Alberta. In contrast, respondents 65 or older, and residents of Atlantic Canada, were significantly less likely than the national average to say they had been victimized. Young people suffered not only how according to this year's poll. Two out of three of the respondents described the behavior of young people as worse than a decade ago.

Interestingly, the worst critics were their own peers. 79 per cent of 18- to 24-year-olds found youthful behavior in decline, compared with 71 per cent of those 25 and older. "That's what I hear as my own thing—that youths are being a lot of these activities," said Thompson, MP for the Alberta constituency of Wild Rose. But as criminologist, Doherty pointed out, "That's what we've always told kids down through the ages."

In fact, Doherty worries that the rising public fear of crime will ultimately result in even larger numbers of young victims—those hurt by the legal system itself. "They say we don't have any crime prevention or better education's solution," he said. "That we have more money for locking up kids."

MARCI McDONALD

Percentage of Quebecers who said the absence of stronger gun controls was the main reason for increased violent crime

100%

Of respondents in the West

1%

How, say, a family member or a close friend been a victim of crime in the past two or three years?



Respondents who said they, or someone close to them, had been a victim of crime in the past two or three years, by age



Is bringing criminals to justice, how should the police handle? Should they...?



Percentage who said police should break the law if necessary, by province



Whether it is video games or television, youths are seeing much more violent imagery, and that influences them.

Whether it is video games or television, youths are seeing much more violent imagery, and that influences them.

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NO MIDDLE GROUND

Lloyd Axworthy's social reforms draw strong responses from Canadians

Mauricio Berlinguer looked tired and admitted that he was anxious to see his children, aged 5 and 6, again. The Toronto-area liberal MP had spent his winter crossing the country with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's resources development committee, which was holding public hearings on Lloyd Axworthy's ambitious proposals to overhaul Canada's social safety net. Protesters disrupted the hearings in several major cities, and social-interest groups strongly opposed the government's plans. But, as the committee travelled its 23-city odyssey in Atlantic Canada before returning to Ottawa for two days of hearings last week, most of its members were convinced the process had been worthwhile, despite the burden on their personal lives. "There's a consensus out there. Our Canadians want change," said Berlinguer.

The nine Liberals, three Reformers and three Bloc Québécois members on the committee received submissions from about 650 groups, representing aging citizens, labor, women, the unemployed, students and the poor. Over the past few weeks, the MPs will prepare a report to be tabled in the House of Commons on Feb. 6. Meanwhile, labor leaders and other activists, who contend that the government is more interested in cutting the federal deficit than reforming social programs, are planning campaigns to prevent the Liberals from reducing the \$26 billion it spends annually on unemployment insurance (UI), postsecondary education and social assistance. But, according to opinion polls, the government launched its review with considerable public support for an overhaul of social programs. "What you are hearing before the committees is a group of people saying, 'Don't make changes,'" says Axworthy, who as minister of human resources development, launched the process. "That's an incredible



Parliament Hill protest against proposed changes to unemployment funding; Axworthy confronting students (right) denigrating expenditures under control

contrast between their views and what so-called hard-core Canadians are saying." Axworthy released his discussion paper on social policy actions in early October. Without stating specific targets, he made it clear that cutting costs is at least partly behind the overhaul. "Until the fiscal situation of governments improves, there will be no new money for new programs, including social programs," the Axworthy paper says. "And meaningful expenditures must be brought under control and in some instances reduced." Ottawa has proposed, for example, converting \$28 billion of the \$8 billion that it transfers to the provinces

annually for postsecondary education into repayable student loans, paid directly to students. The government also set and several ideas for changing UI. Among them, extending the qualifying period to 14 weeks of work from the current 12, cutting benefits in some cases, and creating a two-tiered system in which frequent disclaimers would wait longer and receive smaller cheques than those who make one or two claims in a lifetime. Axworthy has also steadily avoided putting a price tag on these changes. But in a pre-hearing report to Finance Minister Paul Martin dated Dec. 5, the federal finance committee estimated that

the social-policy review would save \$3.4 billion over the next two years.

The government has been closely monitoring public opinion on reforming the social safety net. And it has found that Canadians are remarkably responsive—at least in principle—to the need for change. An Angus Reid Group poll, conducted for the government in late June, showed that 73 per cent of respondents agreed that there is a need for reform. An independent poll done by Decima Research in early November found that 96 per cent of those questioned said that Canada's social programs are plagued

with minor or major problems that require change. Decima also reported that 80 per cent agreed with Axworthy's proposal to create a two-tiered UI system, while 70 per cent supported the idea of "workfare"—doing work to qualify for benefits.

While the consultation hearings represented the most high-profile round of consultations, the government has also tried other ways of hearing from the Canadian populace. Axworthy's department distributed one million copies of a booklet titled *How Your Say*, which gave people an opportunity to contribute their own ideas. By mid-December, some 20,000 copies had been returned. Another 2,000 people expressed their views electronically by sending messages to a ministerial e-mailbox on a computer network. As well, MPs have held public briefings about 225 town hall sessions on social policy reform, attracting as many as 20,000 people in total.

Berlinguer, who attended about 25 such meetings, said that business owners and other individuals repeatedly told him that the government should provide training for UI and welfare recipients to increase their job prospects. "I got people at the town halls who work hard, play by the rules and expect to be rewarded," said Berlinguer. "They really want change, much more so than the interest groups."

But while the government quietly searched for public consensus, many members, students and social activists staged many protests across the country to express their outrage over the proposed changes. They disrupted the hearings in Vancouver, Regina, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. Many of the incidents were apparently organized by a radical student group called International Socialism. The most disruptive took place in Montreal, where demonstrators charged into the hearings rooms and smashed over tables and chairs, smashing most of the committee members to the floor.

Axworthy has personally been the target for much of the protesters' wrath. On Nov. 16 an estimated 15,000 students held a noisy rally on Parliament Hill and hurled eggs and

other debris at the minister when he tried to address them. And on Dec. 17, about 35 student activists protested by taking Kofi Annan, their symbol of student discontent, outside Axworthy's Ottawa home, although the minister was not there. "I was not at the time," Student organizers also distributed thousands of leaflets containing directions to the minister's home, a gesture that had Axworthy—himself a former student activist—laughing publicly. "I did that objectively," he said. "I really realize you say, 'What's going on in this country?'"

Axworthy's consultation process has also drawn fire from the other end of the political spectrum. Reform party MPs serving on the human resources committee have been out to spoil in their criticism. They were particularly stung by the number of witnesses who attacked the government's revenue proposals to tax loopholes and expenditures that benefit large corporations and wealthy individuals. "No one has been able to provide us with the actual study that proves what they are saying," said Reform MP Diane Ablonczy. Another conservative member, Saskatchewan's Reform MP Gary Berntsen, was even more blunt. "The Liberals have created a monster," he said. "The hearings have been taken over by special-interest groups demanding more, not less, spending. It will be very hard for the committee to come up with meaningful suggestions."

Although labor organizations and other pro-labor groups view as constant their opposition, it is the provinces that could emerge as the most serious threats to the reforms. Alec Jones, Axworthy's communications advisor, said that Ottawa can understand legislative changes to unemployment insurance because it is an ex-territorial federal program. However, the federal government funds post-secondary education and the Canada Assistance Plan, which provides welfare benefits to the poor and disabled, partly with the provincial governments, and would, said Jones, prefer to negotiate changes with those governments with the affected jurisdictions.

But many Ottawa insiders expect that the Parti Québécois will reject any talks until at least it has held its referendum on Quebec's separation, now expected sometime in late June. They also say that the PQ and the Bloc Québécois will likely use Axworthy's proposals as ammunition in its battle to convince Quebecers to vote for sovereignty. The government would prefer a June referendum rather than a fall vote because it plans to introduce social reform legislation, which will spill out in detail what changes Ottawa wants, during the autumn sitting of the House. Government officials concede that they may have to proceed with the reforms without Quebec should the PQ refuse to participate even after the referendum.

The program reforms could also be hampered by a provincial election in Ontario, which is anticipated next spring. Ontario's NDP government has complained bitterly about reduced cuts in federal transfer payments. Some observers believe that provincial



politicians in Ontario could try to turn any further cuts into an election issue, particularly since Ontario's proposals have already created a rift in relations between Aoworth and Ontario Education Minister Dave Coole. In early December, Coole sent Aoworth a letter warning that a proposed change in funding for postsecondary education could cost Ontario \$750 million in the 1996-1997 fiscal year. Aoworth, in turn, accused Coole of resorting to "a hit list, to put it bluntly," and called his letter one of the "most appalling and disgusting pieces of political tactics I've seen in a long time."

In fact, the federal proposals for funding postsecondary education have been the most contentious part of Aoworth's green paper—perhaps because they were also the most specific. Ontario's \$8 billion annual contribution represents about half the operating cost of the entire postsecondary education system. University and college administrators fear that converting almost a third of that into direct student loans would cost their institutions a stable and predictable source of financing.

Principals of several educational institutions predict that the changes, if implemented, would result in a sharp rise in tuition fees and cut sharply into the funds available for research and development. The Ottawa-based Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada has estimated that average university tuition fees would double to \$5,000 per year. "Students will have to find

not only their own higher education, but the research that would also suffer from Aoworth's cuts," David Stangway, president of the University of British Columbia, told *Maclean's*. "It isn't entirely fair to put a significant portion of the entire R and D costs on students."

Ontario argues that higher fees and increased debt loads will make universities and colleges more respectable—and less universal. "Who is going to accept a debt load of \$20,000 to \$40,000 to learn to spread

Asian Committee on the Status of Women, criticizes one of the suggestions in Aoworth's green paper that would base 10 benefits on family rather than personal income. She says it could violate the Charter of Rights and Freedoms because, although employees pay UI premiums as individuals, they may not be entitled to claim benefits because of family income. She also maintains that, because unemployment is higher among certain types of female workers, a two-tiered UI program leaving frequent claimants to lower benefits would hit women hardest.

As the parliamentary hearings wound down, the interest groups geared up for the next phase of battle. Jean-Claude Parrot, executive vice-president of the Ottawa-based Canadian Labour Congress, said he expects Martin's February budget will contain firm figures on the amounts of money to be withdrawn from postsecondary education and the Canada Assistance Plan. That, he added, will help prevent the opposition to social-policy reforms, and trigger even more rallies and protests. "We need to improve our social programs, not kill them," Parrot said. "Let's not pretend we're being too generous." In the weeks to come, that is a message that social-policy advocates intend to deliver to Ottawa, loud and clear.

BRUCE JOHNSON with **RAUBEN CARGNAGLIA** in Ottawa, **PETER DRYER** in Toronto and **JOHN ZAMGAY** and **ELISABETH DELZER** in Halifax

Tough talk on culture

The Liberals play the nationalist card

In the 13 months since he came to office, Heritage Minister Michel Duceppe has not generally been regarded as one of the more dynamic members of Prime Minister Jean Chretien's cabinet. Seen in uniform, speaking and sub-speaking in manner, he appears noticeably uncomfortable in the House of Commons. Similarly, he has been criticized, primarily by other Liberals, for delaying or embarrassing several areas in his portfolio, and Ottawa has been rife with rumors that he will soon be shifted, either within or out of the cabinet. All of which makes it even more remarkable that Duceppe last week became the focal point of what is potentially one of the most angry and significant cross-border disputes between Canada and the United States in decades. The issue: Canada's ability to act unilaterally on cultural issues where foreign interests are also involved.

Addressing a Toronto audience of public-



Duceppe's new levies drew Washington's ire.

ing and music industry representatives, Duceppe said them exactly what they wanted to hear: that Ottawa is prepared to grant Canada's cultural industries a new level of protectionism

from foreign competition and the whims of the marketplace. Among the key measures: stepping up 10 percent excise tax on the so-called Canadian royalties of U.S. publications sold, for the first time, forcing private broadcasters to pay royalties to performers and recording studios each time their music is broadcast. In both cases, said Duceppe, the government's intent was clear: "to protect Canadian interests concerning our culture."

The measures also shore another feature they actually annoy the U.S. government: The decision to extend royalties beyond those now paid to the writers of songs played on private radio runs contrary to American broadcasting policy. And the excise tax, affecting magazines such as *Time* Warner Inc.'s *Sports Illustrated* Canadian edition, threatens to trigger a new cross-border trade war.

The levy will apply to all American publications that offer so-called *tailored* editions, adding some Canadian editorial content to their domestic editions, substituting Canadian ads for American ones and then selling them as if they were Canadian periodicals. They are currently designed in the United States, then technically manufactured, imported, and then being carried electronically to a Canadian printer. Canadian magazine publishers and cultural nationalists complained that the publications were circumventing the spirit of the



When did you first learn the value of a good mechanic?

Snap-on Tools

A tribute to the automotive technicians who keep us moving.

low—and mobilizing their returns on advertising because of lower editorial costs.

Under the new rules, *Sports Illustrated* and similar publications will have to pay a tax equivalent 60 per cent of the total advertising revenue of each issue. That measure virtually eliminates the possibility of other American magazines creating new spin-offs: Canadian editions—unless the U.S. government decides that it will make the move a major test case of the North American Free Trade Agreement, *Dagbladet* that possibility. "The best legal path is for the country case to the conclusion that there were no legal grounds to do so," he told *Maclean's*.

But U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, a former California entertainment lawyer, made it clear that he disagrees. Within hours of *Dagbladet's* announcement, Kantor issued one of the most tightly worded statements since the recent launch of Canada's U.S. relations. It included the assertion that the U.S. government is "examining all of its options, including retaliation, to appropriately respond to these unacceptable developments."

There are several likely methods of retaliation, one of the most obvious being punitive rates on editorial advertising. Canadian officials say the United States is struggling to expand into the United States.

In a separate letter to International Trade Minister Jay MacLaren, Kantor also cited American frustration at a decision by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission to pull the American-owned Country Music Television line off Canadian cable networks on Jan. 1, when it will be replaced by a new Canadian channel. "I see in the strongest possible terms the government of Canada to reverse this arbitrary decision, particularly at a time of trade and investment implications," wrote Kantor.

On the copyright front, *Dagbladet* faces protests from both the American and private Canadian broadcasters, who claim that the expanded royalties could cost three operations up to \$50 million a year. The neighbouring Montreal *Star* and *Montreal Star* also represent most of the country's 500 private radio stations, says they lost \$50 million last year and may come back to \$100 million as a result of the measure.

All these measures have one quality in common: they are certain to appeal to members of the Canadian media. The Canadian Press, the *Montreal Star*, and the *Montreal Star* have long been neglected by the Liberals. The announcement, said *Dagbladet*, "illustrates beyond any doubt the importance the government must place on culture and the collective identity." "This was one way of putting it. Another was the low-keyed move from Kantor's office," he suggested that the U.S. government used the measure as an indirect in this country. In other words, Canada's arts community, which often complains it is largely ignored by the border, is now attracting the kind of attention it needs under the watch.

ANTHONY WALSHY/SHEETS with LUCIE JENNIFER in Ottawa, TOM FENNEL in Toronto and WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington

Shuffling the deck



BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

by ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

On the list of duties that prime ministers love to hate, cabinet shuffle is the least. What's less than that is the fact that the last cabinet shuffle, the former British prime minister, said that the only task more difficult than choosing a cabinet in response to a crisis is choosing a cabinet in response to a crisis. Lester Pearson cited Adlai Stevenson's approval in his memoirs: "expressions of new cabinet, Pearson wrote, meant that 'friends had to be left out,' while recognizing an existing one meant that 'enemies had to be moved out.' It was, Pearson said, 'a most unhappy assignment.'"

When will it be Prime Minister Jean Charest's turn? Already last week, he was Ottawa-watching the former chattering class of politicians, newspapermen and publicists consumed with the notion that a shuffle was imminent. Heritage Minister Michel Duceppe is going to Greece—or Egypt—or somewhere, so says the media. Former Quebec health minister Lucienne Robitaille is coming to Ottawa via a helicopter to take over the portfolio of Health Minister Jean Charest. And another, long-time Montreal MP Warren Allmand is going to resign and replace Ed Broadbent as head of the International Centre for Human Rights & Democracy.

But there are several good reasons why a shuffle will not happen soon. One is that the only demonstrably real power the media have in Ottawa is their ability to delay a cabinet shuffle by predicting one. When it was Quebec's turn to shuffle, the media had one strong demographic advantage—such as the reason they represent, their gender or ethnic background—that made them hard to replace, or are worth keeping for other reasons. Some Liberals say that Robitaille, one of the weakest ministers—has an effectively been subordinate to Human Resources Minister David Alward, who has been strongly opposed her replacement. Similarly, there is no obvious choice from British Columbia to replace Revenue Minister Tony Martin, who despite his reputation for public manner, has not actually shuffled his portfolio. And outside of Ottawa, talk of cabinet shuffle makes

somebody's stomachs clench. It's a kind of the death is a sudden way to kill all policy cheer and send guests scrambling home early from dinner parties.

There are two main reasons to shuffle cabinet. The first, and best, is that if a cabinet in power has been long enough to identify weak ministers—as well as strong backbenchers in place. The second is to strengthen the weak Quebec representation before the referendum. Out of the crop of bulldozers Mr. only one—Clifford Leitch, the popular, cerebral and fully bilingual former provincial environment minister—obviously merits consideration. But he has the wrong lead at home. The Liberals want transportation. The crop is not the Liberals but several out-

standing francophone candidates in the last election. But even so they were criticized for presenting a particularly weak cabinet. They did a bad job of it many of the best were put in ratings where they had little chance of winning. By contrast, some Liberals are good, many have talent. Cabinet candidates were given the subtle ratings because they had the virtue of being more personally loyal to Senator Pierre Boudreghien, the party's chief Quebec spokesman.

Now, the Liberals have to create and use some Quebec by-elections in order to renege the cabinet in the way they want. That will likely not happen until spring. Charest, as theory, should not suffer the same kind of material losses that Pearson did. When he was Quebec's premier, Charest said that "in politics, there is no room for friendship" because of the need to make hard decisions (unintentionally by accident). That was true. Now that he is Prime Minister, he has revised (or returned) that theory to mean, in effect, that a leader should appear close to supporters to high positions in government because that is the best way to be sure of their abilities. That's one logic—and another is likely to be the source of any future cabinet shuffle. But here is something else for his to consider: the need of leadership is not best made by advisers but by the man himself. Charest, like, but how many of them remain advisers after they have been pushed away from it.

'The only real power the media have in Ottawa is the ability to delay a cabinet shuffle simply by predicting one'

ROLLING THE DICE

Despite widespread opposition to increased gambling in the province, Nova Scotia's Liberal government granted the recreational horse racing bill. It allows the right to operate two casinos, in Halifax and in the Cape Breton community of Sydney. Nova Scotia, which joins Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba in allowing casinos, expects to net about \$50 million annually from the gambling houses. Critics contend that the casinos will bring an influx of organized crime and increased prostitution to the province.

HOME FOR CHRISTMAS

Quebec's Premier Lucien Bouchard was released from Montreal's St-Luc Hospital two days before Christmas, allowing him to spend the holidays with his family before returning as an outpatient for physiotherapy. Bouchard, 56, had his left leg suspended on Dec. 1 to save him from the rigors of recovering in hospital, the so-called hell-freezing device.

COSTLY EDUCATION

Canada spent \$33.6 billion—or five per cent of the gross domestic product—on elementary and secondary education in 1991, a 30-per-cent increase from 1974 even though student enrollment fell 12 per cent in the same period. Statistics Canada reported it attributed the increase mainly to the cost of 20-year class sizes in the number of schools and school administration staff over the two decades.

SINICING A SHIPPER

New Brunswick provincial court Judge William Crockett sentenced Robin Henry Gentry, 30, to 11 years in jail for his part in a deadly shooting at the Atlantic Fisheries Centre on the morning of Oct. 31. Gentry, who shot and wounded an 18-year-old university student while brandishing himself on a military landing, told the court that he had not realized why he started shooting. He had, he said, "lost himself in my mind."

AFTERMATH OF A SPILL

Agnes Biondi, president of the Atomic Energy Control Board, announced the renewal of the operating licenses for Ontario Hydro's Pickering A and D nuclear generating stations, 30 km east of Toronto, for two years, to Jan. 31, 1996. Four of the Pickering A's reactors, however, will remain shut down while an investigation continues into the Dec. 10 leak of 140 tons of radioactive heavy water into a containment area. While the board has concluded that the plant is safe, environmental groups say the accident shows the need for an independent assessment.

Canada NOTES

Fair-weather federalists

Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau was clearly pleased with his log in an election so favored the federalists: by 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty, Parizeau led his pro-Quebecers to provide over two of the 35 regional constituencies that are to be used to public opinion.

Former federal Conservative cabinet minister Marcel Masse will lead the Montreal campaign team, while Quebec City Mayor Jean-Paul L'Allier, a former provincial Liberal cabinet minister, will lead the campaign in the provincial capital.

Masse, 58, was one of a number of non-Quebecers who joined Brian Mulroney's Tories in the 1980s in an effort to force a new constitutional accord between Quebec and the rest of Canada. As for

L'Allier, although he served as a minister under former premier Robert Bourassa in the 1970s, he was in favor of the 1992 Parti Québécois referendum on sovereignty. Still, the recruitment of conservative champions with at least some federalist credentials was a clear attempt by Parizeau to isolate the provincial Liberals and the federal Liberal government, both of which have declared the PQ's constitution a propaganda exercise.

Quebec Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson, however, said he had altered his decision to boycott the entire process. And, for the first time, he stated that a single 50-per-cent-plus-vote majority in the upcoming referendum would not be enough to pull Quebec out of Canada. He also said that Parizeau should dissolve his government if the sovereignty option is rejected.



Masse: a new PQ recruit

A divisive protest

As the occupation of part of a Bellevue Canada building in Toronto by about 25 aboriginals stretched into its second week, signs began to emerge at the native community over the use of the protest. The natives started occupying the building on Dec. 15 in response to new income tax guidelines scheduled to come into effect on Jan. 1, 1995. Under the changes, Indians who are employed by native businesses, but who live or conduct most of their work outside reserves, will no longer be eligible for income-tax exemptions. Natives who live and work on reserves will continue to enjoy the exemptions.

Osborne Mervin, head of the Assembly of First Nations, expressed support for the protesters' cause. But he urged them to give up their occupation, adding that he was particularly concerned by the group's threat to "meet twice with equal force" if police try to evict them. Mervin said that the tax dispute should be fought in the courts, and that the assembly plans to launch an appeal in January. While he was confident of a court victory, Canada's most prominent native leader warned

that Indians simply will not pay the tax if they lose the case. Chief Samson, a spokesman for the protesters, said that Mervin did not represent them. He added that the protest would only be resolved when Prime Minister Jean Chretien scrapped the new tax guidelines.

"In free fall"

Up to 500 more Indians would join one of thousands of others on government land at Redoubt, Alaska, Canada's rapidly declining fish stocks. The 1995 grouse/finch management plan includes new closures and reduced quotas for redfish and white halibut in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and on the Scotian Shelf, north and west of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The cuts go beyond measures recommended by the Fisheries Resource Conservation Council, an advisory panel of scientists and industry experts. Federal Fisheries Minister Brian Topp said that dwindling stocks continue to lead to words of caution and that he had no choice but to respond with even stricter conservation guidelines. "Our conservation could allow us to do less," added Topp. "The fishery is in free fall."

A CLASH OF WILLS

The scene is set for a showdown between two well-matched political opponents

On the face of it, the new-book U.S. Congress coming as Jan. 4 has some hard facts to follow if it wants to attract the

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

BY CARL MULLINS

national attention that political guerrilla Newt Gingrich and his associate Republicans crave. In 1994, the year of the Dobbs, Tanya Harding and O.J. Simpson, the majority of Americans showed some interest in federal politics. Attention was sparse at the re-election election that gave Republicans control of both chambers of Congress for the first time in 64 years. Fewer than two in five not single Americans cast ballots on election day, Nov. 8, scarcely one half of them for Republicans. Quicker political day ahead that fewer than one-third of those who did vote had ever heard of Gingrich's Contract with America, the radical conservative policy espoused by most Republican candidates for the House of Representatives. That evidence of narrow electoral support for the Gingrich program opened an opportunity for reassurance by the Democratic minorities in Congress and, above all, by their leader, President Bill Clinton.

Despite that, Gingrich claimed a popular mandate to proceed promptly with the contract's promise to "reinvigorate the American dream." That would entail reducing taxes, welfare, deficit and government itself in part by changing the newly enacted U.S. Constitution. Gingrich, the disgraced Speaker of the new House of Representatives, later appeared in a proposal to bring back school prayer and to revive capitalism (in parsing the Republican agenda in the 106th Congress, Gingrich warned, there will be "conservative but no compromise" with the Clinton administration.

That betwixt a new year in U.S. politics developed by head-to-head conflict between Clinton and Gingrich in the dying months of the old year, the President seemed to agree that he would rather switch than fight. But with Republicans determined to demonstrate that they belong in power and Democrats in eager to prove the opposite, the struggle seemed likely, sooner or later, to provoke serious battles between the chief executives in command of the White House and Capitol Hill.

They seemed well matched: Clinton, 45, a southern liberal who fits with conservative feelings in his party, and Gingrich, 51, the southern conservative whose acknowledged political hero is Franklin Roosevelt, the liberal architect of the American welfare state. In the remaining two years of his first term, Clinton will be confronted with a party, a Republican-dominated Congress. Then, Gingrich's devotion to the House, Speaker's chair gives the conservative GOP major power over the legislative agenda, including first crack at budgetary bills sponsored by the Arkansas in the White House. As Speaker, Gingrich is also second in line to a modest presidency, after Vice President Al Gore.

Several matching factors in their lives reinforced the prospect of a clash between equals. Washington Post writer Dale Rossini noted "striking similarities" in the backgrounds of Clinton and



Gingrich. "Both had a missing biological father, an adoptive mother, complex relationships with adoptive fathers, early and vicious appetites for learning, electric, disliking, genius for political power, periods of mental illness. Neither fought in the Vietnam War, both own 1967 Ford Mustangs." Wall Street Journal columnist Albert Hirsch observed right after the election that Clinton and Gingrich are "socially adventurous, open to new ideas, and both are also the subject of formal complaints as an ethics committee in Congress. Leading Democrats also assume that a book contract Gingrich has signed, worth more than \$5 million, raised serious ethical questions. The white of moral compass uncertainties about the future direction of his career, most powerful and influential ones. So, too, do Clinton's actions in the run-up to the opening of the new Congress.

"He is a brilliant politician, equally proficient in policy and political strategy. Yet, from childhood his personal life has had trouble, and the same has happened to his career. His impetuousness demonstrates his impetuous intellectual capacity."

The lives in current focus through parallel records that suggest, at the least, a continuance in accepting financial support that may have led to conflicts of interest. Clinton avows the report of a year-old federal investigation into the Whitewater affair, the rumormongering of an Arkansas real estate deal that he and his wife, Hillary, got into

Clinton striking similarities in the backgrounds of two brilliant politicians

while he was the state's governor in the 1980s. Both Gingrich and New York Senator Alton D'Amato have served notice that there will be no removed congressional inquiries into the impact of Arkansas interests on the presidency. Gingrich's own complex fundraising activities, and possible links between his politics and a federal bankruptcy case he reached are also the subject of formal complaints to an ethics committee in Congress. Leading Democrats also assume that a book contract Gingrich has signed, worth more than \$5 million, raised serious ethical questions. The white of moral compass uncertainties about the future direction of his career, most powerful and influential ones. So, too, do Clinton's actions in the run-up to the opening of the new Congress.

In the election's aftermath, analysts concluded that the result was so much or more a slap at Clinton's performance midway through his four-year term as a vote for the Gingrich platform. There was evidence that Clinton had alienated both labor unions and the party's liberal wing. Their abstentions and defections helped Republicans, whose candidates captured a 230-member majority in the 105th House, while collecting a narrow 50.6 per cent of the vote nationally. At the same time, the Democratic Leadership Council, a strategy group that seeks to shift the

party to the political right, openly criticized Clinton on the ground that his administration had been too liberal. Since then, Clinton appears to have heeded the council's verdict, behaving in an accommodating fashion to the Gingrich agenda—and, thereby, further distancing liberal Democrats.

In an early example of his response to the conflicting pressures, the President at first went along with Gingrich's idea of restoring prayer in public schools, although the practice had long been judicially outlawed as a violation of the constitutional separation of church and state. In the face of criticism, Clinton then retreated to the notion of writing under moments for silent prayer or contemplation of a spiritual character.

In an even closer case of accommodating the Gingrich camp, Clinton fired Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders on Dec. 9 in a reflex that amounted of throwing a lamb to the wolves on the religious right. The head of the U.S. Public Health Service, a longtime Clinton associate from the faculty of the University of Arkansas School of Medicine, Elders had accused conservatives as well as outspoken public comments that sometimes dealt with tobacco in the roof of both health and social issues. She suggested that young people should be taught to avoid teenage pregnancies with the use of condoms. She proposed that the lo-

less man outside the White House in the week before Christmas don his image as good. It was the first case of gunfire around the presidential residence since 1918, although all the incidents were harmless to the President, together they symbolically reinforced the public notion of a leader under personal as well as political stress.

But, if Clinton's response to his party's electoral defeat seemed at least a little more dark, surely surprising to Clinton voters, Gingrich has still to take flight in his fledgling role as leader of a party in power. For a start, his calls to limit congressional terms, outlaw budget deficits and legislate school prayer require constitutional amendments—a process that, because it demands a two-thirds vote in both House and Senate and three-quarters of the state legislatures, has been accomplished only 17 times in the past two centuries. Many other imperfections stand in the way of his legislative ambitions, one of which may yet be Bill Clinton.

If so, a Clinton Gingrich contest might well succeed in reviving the public's flicker of attention at least until primary campaigns for the 1996 presidential election commence a year from now. And—who knows in politics—the struggle might even stretch to a decisive clash on Nov. 5, 1996, with the bullets that presidential election the year for another year in a showdown for the pleasure of politics. □



Gingrich 'no compromise'

World NOTES



HOLIDAY MAYHEM! Bombers take a burn victim to hospital after a grenade firebomb explodes a crowded subway car in New York City, injuring at least 40 passengers and shattering Lower Manhattan into chaos. Police charged Richard Leary, 49, an unemployed computer consultant from South Plainfield, N.J., who himself was badly burned, with attempted murder. Leary may have been involved in a failed extortion plot against the Transit Authority, they said.

Russian might

While Russian President Boris Yeltsin spoke in Moscow of the possibility of a negotiated ceasefire, Russia jets unleashed a relentless assault of bombs and missiles on Georgia, capital of the breakaway republic of Chechnya, in what appeared to be an almost attempt to quell a three-year separatist uprising by the mostly Muslim region. The attacks marked a sharp escalation in the Russian military operation, launched by Yeltsin in Dec. 11, to block the southern territory's independence.

Facing a revolt by some army officers unwilling to attack Georgia's civilians, the Russian president replaced the military leadership during the ground campaign. As a steady rain of fighting rumbled around the largely desert oil town of Grozny last week, hundreds of militant supporters of separatist leader Dzhokhar

Dudayev, many of them armed, rushed to central Freedom Square. On the city's western outskirts, thousands of Chechens, mostly women and the elderly, issued orders to form a human chain. "Where? Stop the war! read one at their banners. "Don't open the blood of our brothers!"

Italy in crisis

Delegated Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi resigned after a revolt by his Northern League coalition partner toppled his seven-month-old government. The 51-year-old billionaire media mogul stepped down in order to avoid the humiliation of defeat in the lower house of parliament, the Chamber of Deputies, where separatist League members had poured out one of their non-confidence motions against his government. Berlusconi said that he should stay on as caretaker leader until President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi can call elections for Italy's 54th government since the Second World War.

CARTER IN BOSNIA

After two days of talks with both sides in the 32-month-old Bosnian civil war, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter unveiled a ceasefire agreement between the Muslim-led government and the breakaway Serbs. Carter, who earlier this year managed to negotiate peaceful add-ons to ceasefires in Korea and Haiti, said that in addition to laying down their arms, the combatants also agreed to negotiate "a total cessation of hostilities" by the new year and to release all prisoners of war. Many observers expressed skepticism that the fragile truce would hold.

KOREAN RELEASES

North Korea released the body of U.S. Chief Warrant Officer David Merson, 29, killed when his army helicopter went down in Dec. 17 after straying across the demilitarized zone that divides the Korean peninsula. North Korea said its forces shot down the aircraft after it entered its airspace but U.S. officials said the circumstances of its downing were still unclear. Late last week, U.S. officials confirmed efforts aimed at securing the release of Merson's crewmate, Chief Warrant Officer Bobby Hall, who survived the incident.

MEXICAN STANDOFF

Tensions in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas reached their highest levels since a wireless last January as marauding Mexican guerrillas attempted to take over villages and highways around the town of Senejé. Thousands of heavily armed police and soldiers flanked most of the police, argued over economic conditions in the impoverished region, to retreat into the surrounding hillsides.

WHITE HOUSE SHOOTING

Controversy surrounded the death of Marianne Corniel, a 33-year-old homeless man shot by a U.S. Park Police officer outside the White House. Corniel had been fighting with a large wolf in his hand, but he was surrounded by law enforcement officers at the time of the shooting. His family has hired an attorney to investigate the incident.

HATE CRIMES RISING

The German government reported an increased incidence of anti-Semitic attacks by neo-Nazis and other rightists in the first nine months of 1995. Data said federal police recorded 807 attacks directed at Jews or Jewish property up to the end of September, compared with 686 similar offenses in all of 1993.

PEOPLE

A SECOND CHANCE

In the futuristic television series *Earth 2*, Thorntons-born actress Jessica Steen plays the "genetically enhanced" Dr. Julia Heller. It's a key role in the sci-fi hour from that locates on the outskirts of a group of survivors after they crashland on an Earth-like planet 22 lightyears away. But before signing on for the show—whose stark landscape is filmed in and around Santa Fe, N.M.—Steen says that she seldom watched science-fiction entertainment. "I was never a *Tron* fan," she says, referring to the film of the immensely popular *Star Trek* series. Instead, says Steen, she was drawn to *Earth 2* for another reason—its strong environmental message. On the show, the crash survivors had originally set out on their expedition because a mysterious syndrome was fatally ravaging humans born or raised on space stations, a killer a planet that was no longer habitable. "In the future of *Earth 2*, it is clear that we have blown it on *Earth 1*," says Steen. "Then, we get a second chance on a new planet, plain. I hope we can convey that sense of awe and wonder—and people will begin looking around the environment and they too were seeing it all for the first time."



Steen: 'We have blown it on Earth 1.'



Clark: a 'maverick'

SCANDAL FROM THE PAST

It is a harrowing tale from Canada's past. In the 1930s and 1940s, the *Star* Magazine House near Halifax, funded over by the Redback and the Young, made millions of dollars from child adoption—allegedly a scandal involving child neglect, improper burial and medical malpractice. But in Australia, *Star* has a complex and colorful history. In the 1930s, *Star* was a maverick. Susan Clark portrays Young as a complex and idealistic woman who, as the *Star*, Oct. born actress describes her, slowly turns into a "maverick." That, perhaps paradoxically, is what brought the Los Angeles-based Clark back to Canada to star in the movie, produced by Kevin Sullivan of *Road to Avonlea*. In Hollywood, the *Star* Young story "would never have been done this way," says Clark. "In the States, it would all have been about women as victims—lose a breast, lose an ovary, lose your mind. But this woman," she adds, "loses her soul. And that's outrageous."

FIGHTING 'FLUFF'

Writer Karen Mack says that she has taken chances for most of her life. She has won roles in such big-name musical-theater productions as *Amos*, *Fiddler on the Roof* and *Gypsy*, and she has led a high-profile, high-pressure job as director of advertising for Canada's fashion legend, *Alfred Sung*. In 1993, Mack resigned her position with Sung to take yet another chance—writing a historical romance. The result is her first novel, *Servant to a Stranger*, which is being published this month. For during the French Revolution, it follows the adventures of a noble born known as the Black Pillar. Mack, 38, spent 18 months doing research to make sure the novel's setting is as historically accurate as possible. Still, the Thornton-born author says that she has reconsidered plenty of people who think that the historical-romance genre lacks credibility. "They consider it fluff and just discount it without giving you a chance," Mack says. "I'm not like I have *Pablo* on the cover or anything."



Mack: a passion for romance

WHY UNICORNS NEVER DIE

Singer Willie Miller has led the folk group The Irish Rovers for more than 30 years. Best-known for raucous drinking songs like *Wasn't That a Party*, the Rovers took a gamble in 1984 and released what was for them an unusual song—"The Unicorn." Its lyrics name and storybook lyrics appealed to children and adults alike and it quickly became their biggest hit. "It was pretty interesting, in including it on an adult album," says Miller, now 54 and living on Vancouver Island. "And people still remember it." And why not requests for that song? Willie Miller still tours each year with the Rovers, who have re-



Miller: storybook lyrics

leased a total of 15 records, he also known a good thing when he sees it. His solo efforts have centered around children's projects. His recently released third solo album is called *The Keeper* and includes such songs as *Waiting with Broom* and *The First Playing Song*, as well as a new ballad about the mythical creature. Miller says he finds it "delightful" to work on tunes for the under-10 crowd. "There really is something special about working on songs that children will love—and maybe remember—so after 30 years from now."

CABLE BOOSTER

Ted Rogers wins federal approval for his Maclean Hunter bid

It took an evening of white linen and black ties, a lavish dinner accompanied by fine wine, floral center and expensive cigars. The gathering of directors and executives—past and present—at the catered Toronto Club was ostensibly a celebration of Maclean Hunter Ltd.'s 30th years as a Canadian communications conglomerate. However, despite the festivity, last night's speech delivered by Maclean Hunter chairman Donald Campbell, it was, in fact, more of a wake than a celebration. Campbell provided the finishing touch to the evening by presenting the guests with a handshake when celebrating set to mark the passing of an era.

Just five days later in Ottawa, that era came to an end. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) gave its long-awaited stamp of approval to Rogers Communications Inc.'s \$3.1-billion acquisition of Maclean Hunter. Explaining the reasons for its decision, the CRTC wrote: "The Commission believes that there is, more than ever, a need for strong leadership in the cable industry to ensure there is a place for Canadian stories, ideas and values in the multibillion dollar world."

With that, Rogers Communications had convinced the CRTC that the consolidation of the domestic cable industry is essential to defend Canada against the U.S. programming

that will soon be imported into Canada by dozens of new satellite. By week's end, Rogers completed the sale of \$3.4 billion of Maclean Hunter assets—including the bulk of the Canadian printing operations to Montreal-based Quebecor Inc. Previously announced U.S. cable, Canadian broadcast and television publishing sales were also triggered by the CRTC decision. As a result, company chairman Ted Rogers clearly emerged as the premier force in Canada's rapidly evolving communications industry with a foothold in cable television, broadcast, long-distance telephone, wireless telephone and publishing. However, he deliberately downplayed that dominance at a news conference following the CRTC's decision. And he insisted that he and his investors were satisfied by the majority of the task ahead. "This is a great day for our company and a somewhat humbling one, a day to ponder our ongoing battles," said Rogers.

From the onset of his takeover bid for Maclean Hunter last February, Rogers has closely linked his business strategy with Canada's national interest. He asserted that his company needed to acquire Maclean Hunter's cable assets in Ontario so that they could be combined with Rogers' existing cable systems. Creating such a huge empire of cable territory, he claimed, would improve market efficiencies and would enable the company to offer such new cable services as two-way interactive communications and computer links. In addition, Rogers said that Maclean Hunter, which controls *Maclean's*, *Globe and Mail*, *The Financial Post* and the *Sun* newspaper chain, among others, would be a source of Canadian content for the electronic information highway.

While the CRTC and Rogers appear to share a common vision of the future as well as technology, such as the direct-to-home satellites, will challenge Canadian broadcasting content, critics will also say that they are deeply concerned about the possibility of consolidating so many assets within

one company. In addition to its cable, publishing and telephone interests, Rogers also owns one television station and 20 radio stations across the country. In fact, Morrison, a spokesman for the Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, a lobby group that advocates more Canadian content, says that the merger of Maclean Hunter and Rogers creates an entity that can easily overpower other sectors of the communications industry. He cited one specific concern about the new entity's channels that will be dedicated to such types of programming as arts and lifestyles. "All of a sudden, you'll have one company in a position to make or break the business plans of each of the specialty channels, to lock on them," said Morrison. "It's by no means a far relationship." Morrison also predicted that increased ownership concentration will lead to higher cable rates for consumers.

Rogers' with CRTC approval for the acquisition of Maclean Hunter, Rogers still faces the challenge of telephone companies' entry into the cable industry

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Initially, Rogers argued that buying over Maclean Hunter's cable systems would enhance operating efficiencies and tend to slow the pace of cable rates increases. But last week, Rogers countered complaints about cable rates by emphasizing, instead, the expensive service upgrades to the cable system that will be carried out within two years to al-

low two-way interactive communication over the cable network. Rogers suggested that approved and increased cable service is more important to consumers than cable rates. He added: "When I started in 1987, our rate was \$4.50 for basic service. I think I would add the increases that are for Canadian programming—the rate of increase is no more than the inflation rate."

Early on, Rogers began offering to subsidize Canadian program production as an open condition to win CRTC support for other projects. But over several years, that cost has risen and contributed to the increase in consumer cable rates. As part of last week's decision, Rogers has promised the CRTC that it will invest \$26.4 million in the industry about \$54 million will be spent upgrading Maclean Hunter's cable systems and another \$10 million will be earmarked for Canadian programs.

But the CRTC also imposed other conditions on Rogers. It instructed the company to sell Maclean Hunter's Alberta television station CFCN as well as its 14-per-cent stake in the Toronto-based TVI television network within a year. Rogers must also limit out an "access policy" that will allow how it intends to deal with companies that want channel space on its

cable network. The CRTC's objective is to assure that applicants will be treated fairly, regardless of their relationship to Rogers. Furthermore, according to the CRTC decision, Rogers must maintain a "clear separation" between itself and the editorial departments of its news publishing holdings.

Still, Ted Rogers did not cover the CRTC history for him. Almost as soon as the decision was released, he had moved on to another project—his CRTC-approved round of hearings in March. Those hearings will eliminate the conditions under which telephone companies will be allowed to enter the cable industry. Rogers, a longtime adversary of Bell and the provincial telephone utilities because of his company's 30-per-cent involvement in United Communications Inc., said that they are 10 times bigger than the cable industry. He suggested that direct competition from the telephone companies could, eventually, wipe out existing cable companies. For one thing, Rogers said, they have the financial strength to temporarily drive down cable rates for a year or two, squeezing cable companies as they have squeezed competitors like Bell in the long-distance telephone market. "Then the rates will go back up," and Rogers' and Bell will be left—the mother of all monopolies.

But Jocelyne Côté-O'Hara, president of Senator Telecom Policy Inc., a division of Senator, an Ottawa-based alliance of the country's telephone utilities, pointedly dismissed Rogers' complaints about the commission's size and market power. "Let's be very clear, there is no size problem," said Côté-O'Hara. "Rogers is very big. The problem they're having is United are their new lack."

While Ted Rogers refused to discuss any problems with his company's investment in United, Rogers' senior vice president of finance, said that Rogers Communications would more than make up a profit in 1995—if the company's share of United's expected \$250-million loss is included. In some quarters, that comment fueled speculation that Rogers is poised to sell his 30-per-cent stake in the long-distance telephone giant. Canadian Pacific owns 68 per cent, while U.S. telephone giant AT&T Corp. holds the remainder. But at least one communications analyst in Toronto said that it is more likely that Rogers is positioning itself for buy control of the company. "Rogers is looking to be the controlling shareholder in any of its communications investments."

But whatever the future of its United stake, company vice chairman Phil Lund says that one of Rogers' first priorities is to explore ways to combine the news parts of its expanded communications portfolio to create new products for the Canadian market. "We're creating a multibillion dollar out of the company," said Lund, "which will involve work in broadcasting, publishing and development of new multimedia formats." After all, Rogers may be the name, but multimedia is now the game.

REBECCA DANKLESH with E. JAYE PLETZKY in Ottawa



CRTC chairman Keith Spicer: alone and voices

Business NOTES



HOT SHOT: Isiah Thomas, general manager of the Toronto Raptors basketball team, goes into the holiday spirit. Last week, the National Basketball Association's Canadian-based franchise (NBA) has reached a deal to develop a \$8.5 million, 1,150-million arena near Toronto's lakefront. Earlier in the week, the Raptors and the Vancouver Grizzlies NBA team finally fulfilled the league's requirement of selling 18,500 season tickets—thanks in part to the Shoppers Drug Mart chain, which bought up 8,500 Grizzlies tickets and 4,500 Raptors tickets.

Chipping away at Intel

After weeks of controversy and complaints, Intel Corp. of Santa Clara, Calif.—the largest microprocessor-chip maker in the world—finally admitted that its much-lauded Pentium chip has a fundamental design flaw. As a result, it will now offer replacement chips to any customers who request them. Intel's chief executive, Andrew Grove, also apologized for the company's "arrogant and uncaring" attitude to the barrage of customer complaints about the chip, which makes mistakes in mathematical calculations.

The Pentium chip, which had spent an estimated \$1.35 billion to develop, was billed as the fastest microprocessor ever. Initially, the company insisted that the flaw would produce errors only once every 27,000 years. Customer

pressure to replace the product mounted, however, when IBM Ltd. of Armonk, N.Y., challenged that claim and announced that it would no longer ship machines that contained the Pentium chip.

At the same time, Microsoft Corp. of Redmond, Wash., announced a delay—possibly until August, 1995—in the release of its new software system Windows 95. That has caused problems for a host of other companies, including Corel Corp. of Ottawa, which have developed products related to the Microsoft software. Corel has created a new version of its successful graphics program, CorelDraw, to complement Windows95. The Microsoft news immediately depressed the share price of several software companies.

FLYING HIGH

The United States and Canada signed the framework for an "open skies" agreement that will deregulate cross-border air transport and travel. Final negotiations leading to the phase-in of unrestricted cargo shipments, air service and assigned airport slots will begin in early 1995. A byproduct of "cabotage"—the practice of picking up passengers in one country and flying them to another destination in that same country—is expected to remain in place.

TRADE BOOM

Canadian exports and imports climbed to a record level in October for the fifth month in a row, according to preliminary figures from Statistics Canada. Exports, led by sales of industrial goods and farm produce, jumped to a new peak of \$19.4 billion, up from \$18.3 billion in September. Imports soared to a record \$17.7 billion, compared with \$17.5 billion in the previous month. The surplus of exports over imports reached \$1.7 billion, up from \$1.6 billion in September.

RATE WAIT

Despite widespread predictions that U.S. interest rates would jump again, last week the Federal Reserve Board opted not to raise them for a seventh time this year. Still, economists predict that rates will increase again early in 1995 because of concerns about inflation. In Canada, the central bank boosted rates by one percentage point to 7.04 per cent. Over the past several weeks, Canadian rates have increased by 100 basis points.

DANGEROUS GAMES

The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested two Canadians on 33-hour piracy in the United States. The agents seized 15,000 counterfeit copies of the popular games *Nebel Assault* and *Myst*. The games being sold at 25 per cent below listed retail prices. Peter Meiko, 63, of Mississauga, Ont., and his son, Brock, 26, of Chicago were arrested in Buffalo, N.Y., and charged with felony copyright infringement.

ROUTE WARS

An Canada chairman Hollis Harris accused Prime Minister Jean Chretien of personally quashing a deal giving the Montreal-based airline access to a lucrative route to Hong Kong. Harris said he reached a "gentlemen's agreement" with Ottawa earlier this year that Air Canada would receive permission to fly to Hong Kong in exchange for dropping its legal challenge to Taiwan-based American Airlines' \$280-million investment in Canadian Airlines International Ltd. of Calgary.

FORECAST

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— Fred McMann,
Publisher, *Lindsay Daily Post*

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Griffiths (left), Foster, Noonan: redirecting an inappropriate desire

FILMS

Women on the edge

The Oscar nominations will be announced until February, but it already seems certain that Jude Foster and Jennifer Jason Leigh will be among the nominees for best actress. This year they are the only two women who have been allowed to dominate American cinema in risky and audacious lead roles—aside from Nicole Kidman, who took some physical risks as the white-water queen of *The River Wild*. Now, both Foster and Leigh outstrip *River Wild* in what she is famous for: serious secret work. In *Nell*, Jude Foster plays a wild child who has grown up to raise isolation and spread a language all her own. In *Mrs. Parker and the Vicious Circle*, Leigh plays a wild child of a different kind—Dorothy Parker, the savage of urban society—and she, too, has a most peculiar way of talking.

Nell is a linguistic, anti-maternal ode to a contemporary Walden

One is a wild child, the other a witty urban savage



Leigh: cynicism, smart talk

Forest. *Mrs. Parker* is an urban, very biographical set in a 1930s Harry Golden, but both movies are about the creative influence of language. Both their heroines are uncontrollable matriarchs who engage in platonic encounters with exceptionally sensitive men. And Foster and Leigh both give performances that transcend whatever else is going on around them.

Raised by her hermit mother in a remote woodland cabin, Nell is a feral creature who speaks an inexpressible language. After the mother's death, a small-town doctor named Lowell (Glenn Close) is summoned to the cabin, where he discovers Nell covering in terror. When one of the mysterious wild child reaches the big kid psychologists at the city hospital, they cannot wait to establish her and start performing tests. But Lowell suspects that she should be left alone, in her natural habitat, and a custody battle ensues.

As the courts delay her case for three months,

Levell and a hospital psychologist named Paula (Dorothy Richardson) spend the summer camped out near Nell's cabin. Levell, who lives in a tent, tries to decode Nell's language with great compassion and constant awe. Paula opens an ear from a journalist equipped with an elaborate video surveillance system. But as they become entranced by Nell's native wisdom—and beauty—the investigators suspect their rivalry and start seeing her surrogate parents. Predictably, Levell represses his inappropriate desire for Nell and endures it towards Paula.

Placed amid gorgeous surroundings, *Nell* is emotionally watchable. Following in the footsteps of *Italy 1900* (The Piano), Robert De Niro (Amadeus) and Daniel Day-Lewis (My Left Foot), Foster communicates a whole world of expression through a cryptic vocabulary. She also dances naked in the silver moonlight, surrendering her body to the spell of the landscape—although one wonders in what geek of the woods Nell discovered modern dance technique.

Despite Foster's convincing evocation of an unlikely character, the story constantly strains for credibility. The script (by Shakespearean author William Nicholson) sets up a series of very tangible problems about what will happen to Nell in the real world, then, with a "five years later" scene, sweeps them away in a happy ending celebrating family values and good water-front success.

Michael Apted's patchy-patchers direction does not help. Nature versus nurture is familiar turf for the British film maker. He made his name with the 7 Up series of teenage documentaries, a study of British class society that tracked the lives of six subjects over a 28-year period. But *Nell*, like Apted's *Gateway* in the *Next* series, the conflict between urban civilization and hermit Nature with her best friend is bleak.

By contrast, Mrs. Parker's director, American filmmaker Alan Rudolph, conquers up the literary the-bells of the *Allegory* Round Table with exquisite detail. The film was produced by Rudolph's former mentor, Robert Altman, and with its large ensemble cast, it recasts the impressionistic style of Altman's famous roughie from *Nashville* to *Ready to Wear*. The overlapping dialogue is accented with epigrams and repartee, the kind of clever, quotable talk that made Parker a legend—one liners such as "A girl can get splinters sliding down a bathroom" or "One more drink and I'll be under the hose."

Mrs. Parker is the portrait of a lady who had a passion for sex, cynicism and a well-timed phrase, an iconoclast who possessed a formidable wit yet was sadly insecure, an alcoholic who had trouble making a serious commitment to relationships or to her writing.

Focusing on the 1930s, the movie picks up Parker's story as she is fired from *Harper's* for writing too many razor-sharp reviews. Her mourning editor at the magazine, Robert Benchley (bravely played by Campbell Scott), quits in solidarity. In 1935, she helps Harold Ross found *The New Yorker* and

under the byline eye of the maître d' at the Algonquin Hotel (Wallace Shawn), their literary circle grows from a ready gang into an institution.

Parker works her way through a succession of men, including playboy writer Charles MacArthur (Matthew Broderick) and two husbands: Edmie Parker (Andrew McCarthy) and Alan Campbell (Peter Gallagher). But the film portrays Benchley as the love of her life. Although their relationship remains platonic, Parker serves as the campfire companion to Benchley's family life in the suburbs with his wife Gertrude (Jennifer Henk).

The movie's shallow narrative, flown by without a great deal of dramatic consequence. But Leigh portrays the complexity of her flawed character with fascinating depth. Her secret, modelled on recordings of the author's voice, is essential: at first, an eccentric mix of W. C. Fields and Mae West with a hint of Catherine. But Leigh's commitment to the voice is so unconvincing that gradually it becomes synonymous with the character—the signature, in fact, of a brave and brilliant performance.

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The crystal ball tells all

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Slowly, the real-life Stages shift and turn again. The outside evidence and word discernible messages. The crystal ball darts and the clouds disappear. The year 2000, at its own pace, becomes completely understandable.

There will be no lucky season, the millionaire players fighting with the millionaire owners over millions never understood by the fans who made them rich.

The O.J. and his family begin the divorce lawyers having already done up the article around them for their Hawaii resort houses.

Michael Jackson will marry Madonna, Elizabeth Taylor being the best man. Lucie Bocherd, after one emotional speech on the Quebec referendum, will retire from politics in favor of family life. Someone will point out that Atlanta, host of the 1996 Olympic Games, has the third-highest murder rate in the universe.

Nevel Ginzburg, now the most powerful man in the United States, displacing Bill Clinton, will follow up on his plan to bring back politicians with a suggestion that children be put back in the mines and villages who can't even drive their motorbikes to work back in the States.

Jacques Potvin, having desired a referendum to make it an autonomous state, will come to realize it is not the time for a vote, pending his polling results. Marcel Masse, who has never met a TV camera he didn't love, and has agreed to head one of the 13 regional Quebec commissions that will hold public hearings on sovereignty, will say something disastrous and will be fired.

Haley Krieger will drop the Rodgers from her name and will go into a disappointing net that Haddad would cry. Peter MacKenzie will have more than The dog who howled outside Nicole Simpson's house the night she was murdered will be called as a witness in the O.J. trial in an attempt to fit the exact time of the last 200's officials will be the questioning, using hand signals.

The baseball owners will try to open the season with "replacement" players. Michael



Jordan will play outfield for the Chicago White Sox and will hit .311. Jean Chrétien will be discovered, during Quebec's period, making the name of Canada Coolidge.

Ralph Klein will learn five words of French, thus surpassing the previous Premier record held by John George Diefenbaker. Mike Harcourt will be returned as premier of British Columbia, with a minority government. Murray Peacock will declare him a great Canadian.

Frank McKenna will stop up his speaking engagements across Canada, serving the growing threat of Alan Rock for the ownership of the keys to 24 Sussex Drive should a bus run over Jean Chrétien. Chrétien tells his chauffeur to avoid bus strikes. The Volkswagen Beetles win the Grey Cup over the Proton Caterpillars, in the fall classic played in Plains, Ga. Larry Smith goes back to selling frozen foods. Bob Rae, assuming

politics and most of all mathematics, retains power at Queen's Park with a government that garners 57 per cent of the vote.

The guest speaker at the Sir John A. Macdonald Dinner at the Vancouver Club on the great man's birthday in January is drawn from the podium by insect bites and jarred copies of Nevel Ginzburg's indiscreet teleconference address. Foreign having succeeded by passed her David Hsu test, will be seen doing Michael Jackson, his marriage having been annulled because of lack of interest.

No one will sleep on the Quebec flag in Brockville, thus crushing Jacques Potvin's dream. The publisher of The Globe and Mail will learn how to pronounce the name of the new governor general. Bruce McNall will go to jail. Paul Martin will tell a pilot, just one.

Jean Chrétien will realize that he loves the Rockies. What he is serious on a trip, Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps will announce that she is in charge now, on his return, will find himself holding the post office. The cat will not return to Newfoundland. John Crosbie will not be appointed to the Senate.

Itir C. Newman will publish a book on Brian Mulroney. The latter will not be happy. David Anderson and Michel Dupuy will be bounced from the cabinet. Healy Fry will be one of the replacements.

Celine Klein will be seen driving away from Proton Manning's home. Proton Manning will do something stupid. Perplexed readers with forward houses will wonder for months why the Pope is The Man of the Year. Lady Asenew will tell a joke, once.

Deputy Prime Minister Sherry Betchworth will go back to his soccer club and television repair and his country will return to its real passion, good clothes and lively dances.

Svend Robinson will make headlines on the way in his job as bid for the NDP leadership, which will be won by Lily Shepherd's son. The Toronto Raptors will hire Will Chivers as coach. Mothers will kick up their daughters.

Nothing will be solved in Boston. Sonasia, Sir John Bionetta, the Boston government, at Jean Chrétien's suggestion. The come of the heads of Canadian banks will be to come. So will their serious on the problems of the national debt.

Clyde Wells will get into the Quebec dispute. So will Roy Inoué. Sheila Copps and Senator Sharon Carstairs will be asked to be a senator.

O.J. Simpson will go to jail. Jacques Potvin will lose his referendum. The fall moon will come up and people will fall in love.



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